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II.—*Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana.* By
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Communicated by VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

IN my attempt to identify the position, and to illustrate the history of the ancient capital of Media Atropatene, I propose, in the first place, to establish the verification of the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán in Oriental geography; to proceed from that point to the connexion of the early Arabs with the Byzantines; to trace up afterwards the fortunes of the city through the flourishing ages of the Roman and Greek empires: and thus finally to arrive at the dark period of the Median dynasty, where fable is intermixed with history, and glimmerings of truth can only be elicited by careful and minute analysis. And this line of argument, if less agreeable in character, is at any rate more consonant with the true principles of critical inquiry than the course which is usually adopted, of following down the stream of time from antiquity to modern days; for in the one case we commence our reasonings in doubt and darkness; we can determine no precise point of history to support our further disquisitions; and thus, when we at last descend to the more tangible field of certain and direct elaboration, our inferences are still affected by the obscurity of our early researches; whilst in the other we set out from a fixed base of direct and well-established proof. We build a superstructure upon this foundation; and as we gradually ascend the chain of evidence into the field of more remote inquiry, criticism may, at any point, withhold assent to our opinions, without at all endangering the stability of any part of the preceding argument.

To commence, then, with the verification of these ruins in Oriental geography. It is not, perhaps, possible to determine, nor is it, indeed, of any great consequence to the inquiry, at what precise time the city ceased to be inhabited. From the appearance of the ruins its final desolation can scarcely be assigned to a more recent date than that of Tímúr;* and that it was a flourishing place not very long before that era is evident from the following extract from Hámdu-llah Mustaufí, who wrote during the troubles which succeeded the death of Abú Sa'íd Bahádur, in A.D. 1389.†

* The Kurdish history ascribes the ruin of all this part of Persia to the wars between the Kúrd and Kízil Bashí (red heads, applied by the Kúrd to all foreigners, Turkish as well as Persian), in the ages preceding the rise of the Šefavian dynasty.

† See Ouseley's Travels, vol. ii. p. 378. He flourished in the two preceding reigns of Sháh Khodábendeh and Abú Ša'íd Behádur.

“In the district of Anjerúd there is a town which is named by the Moghols Setúrík. It is on the summit of a mound, and was built by Kaï Khosrau, the Kayanian. The town contains a large palace: in the *ṣaḥan*, or court of which, there is a fountain in the shape of a large reservoir, or rather, perhaps, resembling a lake, and so deep that divers cannot reach the bottom of it. Two streams of water, each sufficient to turn a mill, are constantly flowing out of it. When the outlets are closed, the water of the lake does not rise; and when they are opened, the streams flow out as before; neither at any season does the water of the lake increase or diminish, which may be considered an extreme wonder. Abaḳāi Khán, the Moghol king,* put the palace of this place into repair. In the neighbourhood there are most excellent pastures; and the government assessment of the district is 25,000 *dínárs*.” †

That the *Haft Iklím* and the *Zínetu-l Mejális*, works of the seventeenth century, repeat the account of *Hamdu-llah*, I consider as no proof of the city's having remained inhabited to their days, for the geographical part of both these works is servilely copied from the *Noz-hetu-l Kolúb*. The name of the district, Anjerúd, appears the same in all the three copies of *Hamdu-llah*, which I have consulted; the orthography is also preserved in the *Haft Iklím*, and in the *Zínetu-l Mejális*, it is merely modified into Anjereh. I can hardly doubt but that the name is identical with the title of Angúrán, which still attaches to the district E. of Takhti-Soleimán; for it is called a dependency on *Sohriverd*, a city of some consequence in former times, situated to the S. E. of *Zenján*; and the position of Angúrán, between Takhti-Soleimán and *Sohriverd*, will alone answer this indication; though as Angúrán is mentioned under its own name in the *Sheref Námeḥ*, a work of nearly the same age as the *Haft Iklím*, and a district also bearing this title of Angurán occurs in *Hamdu-llah*, among the dependencies of *Marághah*, there is still some obscurity attaching to the subject. Indeed I was long in discovering the curious notice in *Hamdu-llah* relative to Takhti-Soleimán; for, as I shall presently show, he alludes to the same place in another part of his work, under its more ancient designation of *Shíz*; and I could hardly expect to find an account of the Takht under the head of *Sojás* or *Sohriverd*,‡ places removed from it at least 100 miles to the eastward, and at the

* The son of Holákú Khán; died in A.D. 1281

† See *Noz-hetu-l Kolúb*, Persian MS.

‡ *Sojás*, which contained the tomb of the Pagan king, Arghún Khán, son of Abaḳāi Khán, is now a small village, situated in the hills, at the distance of about 24 miles S.E. of *Zenján*. *Sohriverd* was in the immediate vicinity; but I believe that the name is now lost.

present day possessing with it no connexion whatever. His description, however, is too graphic to admit of any doubt as to the place to which he alludes. The mound, the palace, the unfathomable lake, the phenomenon of the waters, and the pastures, are all so many direct points of evidence; and we must resolve other difficulties, therefore, as we best may. There is also a difference in all the manuscripts regarding the Moghol name of the town; it is written Saṭūrīk, Saḡūrīk, and Satrūk. Whatever may have been the original title, however, it no doubt represents the word, which has been softened down into the modern pronunciation of Sárūk, and which is now applied to the river that rises at Takhti-Soleimán.

I must now say a word regarding the local title of Takhti-Soleimán, which will carry me up a few years anterior to the age of Hamdu-llah. The present popular belief, as I have already observed, ascribes the foundation of the Takhti to Solomon and the Dív; but Sir R. Porter mentions his having been told upon the spot that the name was really derived from a certain Kurdish king who reigned here; and this seems not at all improbable, for whenever the local title of Soleimán is met with in Persia, referring to the Jewish Solomon, as the founder of the place, it may be considered as a very ancient imposition, dating at least from the earliest ages of Islám.*

In the present case the title of Takhti-Soleimán was certainly not applied to the place in ancient times; † and we must look, therefore, for the derivation in the local history of the province, shortly preceding the desolation of the city; and here, accordingly, we find a Soleimán Shah, to whom it seems more than probable the title must refer.

Early in the thirteenth century there was a king of this name in Kurdistán, nominally dependent upon the Baghdád-khaliphate. He is usually called Soleimán Sháh Abúh; but I have failed to discover any particulars of his family. He rose into great power; the revenues of the province were increased tenfold under his vigorous and skilful administration; and Behár, at present a ruinous village on the frontiers of Gerús ‡ and Hamadán, became, as his place of residence, the capital of Kurdistán. In the Sheref Námeḥ we find detailed the wars in which he was engaged with the Atábegs of Luri-Kúchek to avenge the murder of his sister's husband, the former prince of that wild region. He was at first

* Thus the ruins of Persepolis were named Mesjidi-Soleimán as early as the commencement of the tenth century. Consult the Morúju-z-Zeheb of Mes'údí.

† I consider this name of Takhti-Soleimán was a mere popular title, and have never met with it in any historical or geographical work whatever.

‡ Properly Gerosb; but now always pronounced as I have written it. The district derives its name, I believe, from a Kurdish tribe.

defeated; but afterwards, being reinforced from Baghdád, he subjugated the whole of Luristán, and compelled the Atábeg to flee to the court of Mangú Khán, at Qará Qorum.

Shortly afterwards, when Holákú descended upon Baghdád, Soleimán Sháh was chosen to command the armies of the khali-phate; and it was not until the Moghol emperor obtained possession of his person and slew him in cold blood, with many of his followers, that the unfortunate Mosta'sem found himself obliged to come out of the beleagured city, and humble himself at the feet of his conqueror.* I think it not improbable that this Soleimán Sháh may have built himself a palace on the margin of the petrifying lake, which fell into ruin when his country was overrun by the victorious Moghols, and was afterwards repaired, as Hamdu-l-lah states, by Abekái Khán, the successor of Holákú; and it is natural that the memory of his virtues should have been thus perpetuated in the country which he governed by the popular title of Takhti-Soleimán, which would still attach to the palace of his foundation.

Taking up the history of the city prior to the age of Soleimán Sháh and the Moghols, we find that in all Oriental writings previous to that era it is entitled Shíz, a name which I could have supposed had been unknown to the English reader, had I not met with a solitary passage in the "Modern Traveller," stating that "the first appearance of Zoroaster seems to have been in Azerbáján; and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz, in Media."† The identification of Takhti-Soleimán with Shíz is of great importance; for I shall afterwards be able to prove the Shíz of the Orientals to be the Canzaca‡ of the Byzantines; and the great point of the verification in modern geography, of the Sasanian capital of Azerbáján, will thus be at once established. The following extract from the Atháro-l-Beldán, the Arabic geographical work of Zakariyá Kazvíní, will, I think, then go far to establish this identification:—

"Shíz is a city of Azerbáján, between Marághah and Zenján: Mosa'er Ibn Mohelhel relates as follows:—"Shíz possesses mines of gold, silver, mercury, arsenic, and lead. It is surrounded by a strong wall, and contains, in the centre of the city, a small lake, which has never yet been fathomed: I tried to sound it with a line of above 4000 yards,§ but could find no

* I take this sketch of the history of Soleimán Sháh from the Sherif Námeh, the Raunetu-s Sefá, and the Noz-heṭu-l Kolúb.

† Modern Traveller, Persia and China. Vol. i. p. 59. [Probably from Teixeira's History of Persia.]

‡ I adopt the uniform orthography of Canzaca for the name which is written by the Greeks, Γάζακα, Γαζανί, Γαζανόν, Κανζακόν and Καντζάνιον.

§ The Arabic says 14,000 yards, but I give Mosa'er, who, from his stories, appears a

bottom. The circuit of the lake is about one Jeríbi-Háshimí.* At certain times, when the waters of the lake sink below their usual level, the banks, which are thus left dry, become petrified into very hard stone. There is also a very great fire-temple of the Magi at this place, from whence the sacred fire is conveyed to all the other Pyræa in the world: the peak of the cupola of this temple bears a crescent, which is a talisman for the preservation of the city; and thus, though enemies have frequently assaulted the walls, it has never yet been captured. One of the most extraordinary circumstances connected with the temple, is that the sacred fire has been now constantly burning there for 700 years, and no particle of it has ever yet turned to ashes. Another marvel is, that whenever enemies have attacked the place and erected Mangonels, to cast stones against the walls, the missiles have never struck the bastions, notwithstanding that the engines may have been erected close under the fortifications." This account is extracted from the work of Mosa'ér Ibn Mohalhal, a traveller, who described the wonders of the various regions through which he passed. The greater part of the 'Ajáibo-l Beldán is written upon his authority. Another writer has the following notice:—"In Shíz is the fire-temple of Azerekhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyræa of the Magi; in the days of the fire-worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage, to this place. The temple of Azerekhsh is ascribed to Zerátusht, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shíz, to the mountain of Sebílán;† and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the Zend Avestá; which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet. The occurrence took place in the reign of Gushtásp, the son of Lohorásp, the son of Kei Káuś, king of Persia."‡

Zakariyá closes his account of Shíz, continuing to quote, apparently, from the same anonymous author, with a description of the reception of Zerátusht, by Gushtásp; and the miracles by which the prophet established, to the king's satisfaction—the verity of his divine mission. I need scarcely, I believe, enter into any

sort of Oriental Munchausen, the benefit of the Persian translation in the Seiro-l Belád, where the number is reduced to 4000. The Hashemhite yard was of 32 inches, and the asserted measurement is therefore quite preposterous, even with this reduction.

* The Jeríbi-Háshimí was a square measure of 60 Hashemite yards.

† The name of this well-known mountain is written by the Orientals indifferently Sebílán and Sevílán.

‡ Atháro-l Beldán. Arab. MS. This is the work described by Casiri, under the name of 'Ajáibo-l Beldán, as the great geographical treasure of the Escorial library. See Casiri, Bib. Esc., vol. ii., p. 7

detail to show the applicability of this description to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán; its position between Marághah and Zenján, the neighbourhood of the mines, the massive walls encircling the town, and above all, the unfathomable lake, with its petrifying banks, are quite sufficient to demonstrate the identity.

There are a few other passages in Oriental authors relative to Shíz, which corroborate the account of Zakariyá.

The two works entitled Seïro-l Belád, and Telkhišo-l Athár,* are merely abridgments of Zakariyá's Geography; and, as their notices of Shíz are thus evidently drawn from the extract which I have already translated, it is unnecessary to quote them separately.

The account which Hamdu-llah Mustauí gives of the Takht, from his own personal knowledge, is full, graphic, and correct; but he was a compiler as well as a practical geographer;† and thus, in his chapter on Kurdistán, we find another mention of the place, under its old name of Shíz, copied, doubtless, from some of the ancient authors, whom, in his preface, he states himself to have consulted. "El Shíz," he says, "is a small town, pleasantly situated; it formerly contained the fire-temple of Azerekhsh." In all the MSS. of the Noz-heto-l Kólub, the names are written Shít and Arwekhsh, but I have ventured to restore the orthography; as the juxta-position of the two titles can leave no doubt of their applicability to the same place, as is described by Zakariyá, though it is probable that Hamdu-llah, in repeating the notice, failed to recognise their identity. The fact of Shíz also being included by him in the chapter on Kurdistán, whilst, in another part of his work, he extends the southern boundary of Ažerbíján to the mountains of Síná,‡ may be sufficiently explained by its having formed a part of the government of Soleimán Sháh, which he evidently kept in view in describing the geography of the province.

* The Seïro-l Belád is a Persian; the Telkhišo-l Athár an Arabic abridgment; the latter was translated by Mons. de Guignes, and published in the *Not. des Manuscrits*, tom. ii., p. 386; it is a very poor affair, however, and quite unworthy of a place in that collection.

† There is also, I suspect, an allusion to the famous pond of Takhti-Soleimán, in Hamdu-llah's chapter on lakes, where, under the head of Deryáhehi-Cheshmeh (or the lake of the fountain), he says, "This is on the frontiers of Angún" (probably an error for Angúrán); the banks of it (all the MSS. are faulty here) "In the 'Ajáibo-l-Makhlúkát it is said that the author of that work (Zakariyá Kazvíní) wished to ascertain the depth of it, and accordingly sent in divers, who declared themselves to have gone down 1000 yards without reaching the bottom." I do not find the story in Zakariyá himself, though it is quite in his style; and if he really did visit the place, it must have been after writing the Atháro-l Beldán, where he relies for his description on other authorities.

‡ The name of Síná applied by Hamdu-llah to the Kurdistán mountains, shows that the title is ancient, and that it originated, instead of being derived, from the modern capital of Sehnah, as is usually supposed.

Another brief notice of the place occurs in Yáqút's Epitome, called the *Morásido-l Ittilá'*, where, after determining the orthography which, without its clue, I should have found it impossible to ascertain,* Shíz is described as "a district of Azerbáján, between Marághah and Zenján." It would be interesting, perhaps, to verify these notices by a reference to some of the standard Arabic authors, such as the old geographical work ascribed to Ibn Haukal, to Jeihání, and to Abú Zeid; and whose original authorship is still a problem in Oriental literature.† The *Atháro-l Bákiyeh* of Abú Rihán, and, above all, the *Mó'jemo-l Beldán*, of Yáqút;‡ but these authorities are not accessible in the East; and I confess, that, as far as argument is concerned, the solitary extract from Zakaríyá appears to me quite sufficient to demonstrate the identity of Takhti-Soleimán and Shíz.

The next stage of the inquiry must be the verification of Shíz, as the Canzaca of the Byzantines; and this will depend upon the campaign of Khosrau Parwíz, against the usurper Behram Chubín, and the history of the famous fire-temple of Azerekhsh.

I shall commence with the campaign of Khosrau, as it is described by Theophylact, verifying the line of route from all other available sources. When the Emperor Maurice undertook to restore the fugitive Khosrau to the throne of his ancestors, it was arranged that the forces destined for the expedition should enter Persia in two divisions. The king himself accompanied the main body of the Romans under the veteran Narses, along the road by Márdín, Nisibín, and Sinjár, to the Tigris; while his relative Bindúyeh, with another Roman contingent, commanded by John, the Prefect of Armenia, broke into the province of Azerbáján.

Khosrau crossed the Tigris at a place called Dinabad, which must have been near the ruins of Nimrod; and at the distance of one march from hence, he passed the greater Záb. He now proceeded to a place called Alexandriana, "a name derived from Alexander of Macedon, son of Philip, who there, with his Mace-

* In the different MSS. that I have consulted, I have found the name of this city written in eight different ways—Sir, Shír, Síz, Shíz, Sebz, Shín, Shít, and Shebíz; all of which variations arise from a confusion of the diacritical points, and a slight change in the formation of the last letter.

† It is curious to remark that Abú-l Fedá's quotations from Ibn Haukal, and Yáqút's extracts from Abú Zeid, both correspond, as nearly as possible, with my abridged MS. of Jeihání. Zakaríyá and Idrísí appear to have been the only two geographers who were acquainted with Jeihání, and the former, too, quotes Ibn Haukal as a distinct author.

‡ The translation of Yáqút's Great Lexicon, if it could be procured entire, would be an invaluable service to Oriental literature. The Bodleian has only four volumes, but I believe that the work exists entire in the Imperial library of St. Petersburg. In the present paper I consult the only two odd volumes of the *Mó'jem* that I have ever met with in the East.

donian forces and Greek auxiliaries, captured a very strong castle and slew the barbarian inhabitants." In this obscure tradition we at once recognise the battle of Arbela; and, as I find, in the manuscript journal of a friend, that "the hill at Arbela, upon which the fort is built, was raised, the natives say, by Alexander the Great," * it seems not impossible that, in the age of Maurice, the popular title of the place may really have been Alexandriana. From Arbela the Roman army marched, in one day, to the region of Chnaitha. This seems to be the same place which is mentioned by Theophanes, under the title of Chamaitha † (the *m* being, probably, an error for *n*), as the district where Heraclius refreshed his army, after his difficult passage across the mountains from Media, and before he passed the greater Záb, to take up a position at Niniveh: it is also, beyond a doubt, the Hōnítá of the Syrians, which was an episcopal see, under the metropolitan of Adiabene, from the fourth to the fourteenth century; but, as I have failed to discover its representative in Arabic geography, its exact position cannot be determined. It is evident, however, from Assemani, that Hōnítá must have been a short distance to the E. of Arbela; ‡ and I conclude, therefore, that it is to be looked for in the modern district of Bestórá. Narses appears to have occupied this territory at the foot of the mountains, with a view to facilitate a junction with the Armenian contingent, which was advancing to meet him from Azerbáján. Behráṃ, at the same time, must have been on the banks of the lesser Záb; and, when he found that the junction had not yet taken place, he pushed rapidly across the mountains, probably by the bye-road of Kōi Sanjáḳ and Sardesht, in the hopes of engaging and defeating the Armenian contingent before Narses could move to its support. Passing on rapidly in a north-easterly direction, Behráṃḡ is said to have at length reached a certain lake, which can be no other than the lake of Urumíyah; and the point where he would thus first have reached it, upon the line of Sardesht and Só-új Boláḳ, which I suppose him to have followed, would have been about the modern Bínáb. Here the scouts brought him intel-

* Rich (vol. ii., p. 18) says, "There is a local tradition peculiar to the place, that Arbel was built by Darius." I quote from the Journal of Dr. Ross of Baghdád, a gentleman who has travelled much in Arabia and Kurdistán, and whose geographical information, regarding these countries, is as interesting as it is extensive.

† See page 91.

‡ For notices of the district and city of Hōnítá, see Assemani. Bib. Or. Vat., tom. i., p. 194; tom. iv., p. 757; and the numerous passages referred to under the last head. There is in Hamdu-llah, a Khonísán, described as a small town in Kurdistán, upon the river Záb, which may possibly be the same place.

§ I adopt throughout the Oriental orthography of Khosrau and Behráṃ, instead of the *Xosroës* and *Beḡḡam* of Theophylact.

ligence that the Armenian troops were in full march upon the other side of the lake, having doubtless taken the direct line of Báyazíd, Khoi, and Urumíyah, to conduct them to Ushnei, from whence they could cross the mountains into Assyria. The intervening lake presented the possibility of an engagement, and Bindúyeh, whose interest it was to effect a junction with Khosrau without delay, is stated to have continued his march to the southward. The movements of Behráam are not specified, but I conclude that, when he found himself frustrated in his attempt to come to action with the Armenian contingent, he retraced his steps into the present country of the Mikris, to cover the city of Canzaca.

We must now return to the army at Chnaitha. Narses, upon discovering that Behráam had abandoned the low country and crossed the mountains into Media, immediately threw his troops upon the great Rowándiz road, sending on orders to John, the præfect, by no means to hazard an engagement until he arrived to support them. Theophylact says, that he suddenly burst into the country of the Anisenes, and, passing rapidly through it, arrived on the fifth day (as I read the passage) at the village of Saragana : it will be interesting therefore to identify this tribe of Anisenes, as well to show the line of march followed by the Romans, as to corroborate the existence in antiquity of the great thoroughfare across the mountains by Herír, Rowándiz, and Sídek, to which, in my former memoir, I have alluded.

In the time of Pliny the Rowándiz mountains were inhabited by the Aloni, the Azones, the Silici, and the Orontes.* The Orontes to the E. of Guagamela, preserve their name in the present tribe of Rewendí ; a corruption, doubtless, from Erwend,† which is a pure old Persian root, usually hellenised into Orodes or Orontes. The Silici, which Pliny classes under two divisions, gave the title of Salak among the Syrians of the middle ages to the whole mountain country between Adiabene and Media ; the name is I believe now wholly lost among these mountains, though the Selek are still a powerful tribe in Luristán. The Aloni are stated by Assemani to be identical with the Alanitæ, who were known to the Syrians as inhabiting the mountains contiguous to the Gordyæans ; ‡ and perhaps the Alani of Hamdu-llah, which

* Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. vi.

† This mountain district is clearly distinguishable, in Armenian geography, under the name of Erovántúni.—See Saint Martin's Armenia, vol. ii. pp. 363, 429, where, however, the connexion is unnoticed. The Georgians applied to the inhabitants of these mountains the name of Oreṭi. See Klaproth's Georgian History, quoted by St. Martin, tom. ii. p. 182

‡ For the Syrian accounts of Salacha and the Aloni, see Assemani, tom. iv. p. 708, under the head of Adjabene. It is possible that the Selekei and Silki divisions of

he describes as "a flourishing town in Kurdistán, well watered, producing corn and abounding in pastures and hunting grounds,"* may have some reference to them. Of the four tribes mentioned by Pliny, the Azones thus alone remain unidentified; and though the name may possibly be referred to Hazá, or Hazene (the Chazene of Strabo) which was used by the Syrians as another title for Arbela,† yet I confess I would rather conjecture it to be a corruption from Anozes, or Anizes, the same with the Anisenes of Theophylact, especially as Ptolemy, in the route which he apparently lays down from W. to E., between Assyria and Media, names the first station in the mountains Alinza,‡ a word which I read A'li-'Anizah, or the tribe of 'Anizah; and the Armenian geographers designate all this mountain region, containing Júlamerik, Khúsháb, &c., by the title of Andsevatsi,§ a name that is certainly referable to the same root as the Anisenes of Theophylact. It is singular, however, that the Syrians, who extended their ecclesiastical sway over all these mountains, should employ no title resembling 'Anizah or Anisene; and the absence of any vestige of the name among the present Kurdish inhabitants throws another shade of uncertainty over the subject; however, I chiefly rely on the Armenian title to verify the position of the Anisenes; and 5 days' march across their mountains by the Rowándiz road would conduct the Romans to Sirgán in the plain of Ushnei, which I have already conjectured to be identical with Saragana.

Here took place the junction between Narses and the Armenian contingent; and here, or near this place, Behráh failed in a night attack with which he hoped to have surprised the Roman camp. Three days afterwards occurred the first general action between the armies. I suppose the battle to have been fought in the hilly country E. of Só-új Bolák,|| Behráh having retreated, probably after the failure of his night attack, along the high road to Canzaca; and the circumstance of his having withdrawn to a steep mountain after his defeat, from which he repelled the disorderly attacks of the Persians, who, unsupported by the Roman infantry, attempted to dislodge him, showing that the action could not have taken place in the plain country of Soldúz or Miyándáb.

the Mikrí tribe may derive their names from the Silici or Salak.—See former Memoir, p. 38.

* Noz-hefu-l Kólúb in the chapter on Kurdistán.

† See Assemani, in loco citato. Strabo, p. 736.

‡ Ptol., lib. vi. c. 2.

§ See Saint Martin, tom i. p. 131, and tom ii. p. 363, 429. Also Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 296, where a story is told of Johan Anzevazi, and Nerseh Ervándúni.

|| Properly So-uk Bolák, but now corrupted into Só-új Bolák.

Behrá'm, on the succeeding morning, is stated to have continued his retreat over very difficult ground, inaccessible to cavalry, and if we suppose him in this march to have crossed the Jaghatú by the Kiz Koprí, and from thence to have wound among the steep and barren hills which bound Sa'in Kal'eh to the S., the nature of the ground will exactly answer the description. The Romans it appears pursued him closely, and pitched their camp at night within a short distance of his position. From hence it is said that Behrá'm descended into the plain which contained the city of Canzaca; that the Romans, still following closely on his steps, reached the river Balaroth and encamped there; and that upon the third day of the pursuit they at length came up with the fugitive in another plain to which he had farther retreated without entering Canzaca. The plain of Canzaca, which is so frequently mentioned by the Greek writers, is always a matter of some perplexity; for, strictly speaking, there is no plain whatever in the neighbourhood of Shiz; however, I can understand, from the account of Theophylact, that Behrá'm descended from the hilly range between Sa'in Kal'eh and Hışár; that at the Balaroth, which I conclude to be the main or northern branch of the Sárúk, he entered upon what is called the Şahrá or plain of Takhti-Soleimán; that he then crossed the intervening hills to the valley of the southern branch of the river, leaving Canzaca to the left, and that in this valley he fought the final and decisive battle, the disastrous result of which drove him into exile beyond the Oxus, and restored Khosraú to the throne of Persia. Khosraú and the Romans, after remaining three days upon the field of battle, are stated to have returned to Canzaca, and to have occupied the city without opposition. There are probably no means for ascertaining the local title of the Sárúk previous to the era of the Moghols, but if we consider that the Byzantines uniformly employed the Greek *b* to express the Persian *v* or *w*, and that the change of *r* for *l* is a common vulgarism in Persian pronunciation, we shall thus restore the Balaroth of Theophylact to its true orthography of Várá-rúd, or the river of Várá; a name which I shall presently show to be strictly applicable to the stream that watered Takhti-Soleimán.

It must be confessed that the loose and confused account of the Byzantine historian affords anything but decisive evidence of the identity of Canzaca and Shiz. This point I have fortunately been able to establish from the Oriental narrative of the same campaign, and in following the story of Theophylact;* it has thus

* Theophylact Simocatta, lib. v. c. 5—10. Gibbon, who had this account before him, scarcely shows his usual accuracy when he says—"After the junction of the im-

been less my object to methodise and develop the strict geographical application of his statements than to reconcile those statements with my own personal knowledge of the topography of the line of route. The only essential point of evidence for which I rely upon Theophylact is, that the great battle between Behráw and Khosrau was fought in the immediate vicinity of Canzaca, the capital of Media Atropatene. For the verification of this city of Canzaca I turn to the Oriental histories.

In two works, the Kámil of Ibnu-l Athír, and the Arabic history of Abúl-faraj, the battle is said to have been fought in the vicinity of Modáin:* but this is certainly incorrect. All the other writers whom I have consulted, such as Mes'údí, Mír Kháwend, and the authors of the Lebbu-l-Tewáríkh, Khelásetu-l-Akhhár, and Gozídeh, unite in describing the arrival of Khosrau with his Roman auxiliaries in Azerbáján, and state that the fate of the empire was decided in that province; but two authors, more ancient and more authentic than any of those which I have named, are even more explicit in their narrative, and they both distinctly mention the city of Shíz, at that time the capital of Azerbáján, as the scene of action between the two rival armies. One of these is Aşma'í, the celebrated preceptor of Hárún al Reshíd,† who wrote, at the close of the eighth century of Christ, a synchronous history of the kings of Persia and Arabia, previous to Islám; a work that is, I believe, unknown in Europe, and which is, perhaps, the most valuable and authentic historical volume in the whole range of Arabian literature. Aşma'í in describing the campaign writes in the first place that when Khosrau entered Azerbáján, his uncle Bindúyeh, and Múshíl, the leader of the Armenian troops, were residing in the city of Shíz, having been entrusted by Behráw Chúbín with the defence of the northern frontier, and that on hearing of the king's approach they immediately left Shíz, and hastened to tender their allegiance; and again in noticing Khosrau's occupation of the capital, he says, "And the king went on till he arrived at the city of Shíz, where there was a very great fire-temple, which remains to this day. Khosrau remained constantly at prayer in this temple, while he ordered his army to form an entrenched camp; and he abode for a month at Shíz, to refresh himself and his troops, and employed himself in collecting provisions and establishing bázárs.

perial troops, which Bahrám vainly struggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab and the confines of Media.

* Ibn Jauzí, in the *Meráto-l Zemán*, agrees with these two authors in placing the field of battle near Modáin. The three accounts are probably drawn from the same source.

† See D'Herbelot, under the titles *Aşma'í* and *Haroun*. Aşma'í died in A.D. 830 in extreme old age.

The other authority is the not less celebrated Tabarí,* who mentions the arrival of Khosrau, with the Roman legions, at Shíz, a large city of Azerbáján, "containing a great fire-temple of the Magi, which (it is not clear whether he means the city or the temple,) is now no longer in existence." He then describes the battle as taking place in the immediate vicinity, and relates, that after the defeat and flight of Behráh, Khosrau proceeded to Modáin. Among the many copies of Tabarí that I have consulted, I confess I have only found two which contain this passage relative to Shíz,† but still, I think these two, in conjunction with the authority of Aşma'i, are quite sufficient to establish the verification of Canzaca. In one MS. of this author, I have also found another curious passage relative to this subject which would be worth examination by Orientalists, in Europe, who have old and genuine copies of Tabarí to consult. After the relation of the combat and the flight of Behráh, it is stated that Khosrau then moved from Gáh (𐭪𐭫) to Modáin. Now Gáh appears to denote the same place, which, in the other copies, is named Shíz; and, if we suppose that a single letter has been dropped by the transcriber, and thus, restore the word to Gázeh, (𐭪𐭫 for 𐭪𐭫) we shall obtain a further proof, not only of the identity of Shíz and Gaza, (for Canzaca is but the Armenian modification of the title,) but, also, that the ancient name of the city was not unknown to the early Arabs.‡

I now pass on to the subject of the Fire-temple; and shall continue to quote from the Byzantines, illustrating their notices from Oriental authors. Procopius tells us, that at the conclusion of the third campaign between Justinian and Chosroes (Kesrá

* Tabarí is too well known to require any notice—he was born A.D. 839, and died A.D. 922

† There is no work, perhaps, in all Oriental literature of which the copies differ so much from one another as the Persian translation of Tabarí. The diversity, indeed, is so great, that it would seem impossible for all the MSS. now in use to have been drawn from one original version by the Vizier Abú 'Alí Moḥammed, as is generally supposed.

‡ I have since met with a singular confirmation of the identity of Shíz and Canzaca in the account which Firdaúsi gives of the engagement between Khosrau Parwiz and Behráh Chúbín. The meeting of Khosrau with his uncle Binddyeh and the Armenian general Múshil, previous to the action, which is alluded to by Aşma'i, is described at length in the Shah Nameh, and the scene of the interview, called in the Arab history the city of Shíz, is named by Firdaúsi, Ganjak or Kanjak (for the *k* and *g* are, in the Persian, undistinguishable), a title which is evidently identical with the Armenian Kandzag and Greek *Kánζαα*. Another remarkable evidence, which verifies in the most satisfactory manner the argument I have drawn from the history of the pyreum of Azerbáján, of the identity of Shíz or Canzaca with the ancient Median capital, is the attributing by Firdaúsi of the name of Azer Geshep to the famous fire-temple of Kanjak, where Khosrau fulfilled his religious vows preparatory to the engagement; the very name which was bestowed by Kaí Khosrau on the temple of his foundation in the city or castle of Bahman Diz.

Anúshírewán), "the Persian monarch traversed Assyria, and marched direct to the city of Ardabigan, which is in the northern part of the province, of the same name, designing to attack the Romans, from thence, by the frontiers of Persarmenia. In that city is the great Pyræum, or fire-temple, which, of all the holy places connected with their religion, is held in most veneration by the Persians. The Magi, there, preserve the eternal fire; and sacrifice many victims, which they consult for the purpose of augury and divination. The fire of the Persians is, in every respect, similar to that which the ancient Romans named the sacred fire of the Goddess Vesta."*

We next meet with an account of this great temple of the Magi, in the narrative of the campaigns of Heraclius. When the Roman emperor, according to Theophanes, burst into Persia from the neighbouring frontier of Armenia, Khosrau Parwíz threw himself into Canzaca, with 4000 men, to arrest the progress of the invasion. The emperor, however, rapidly approached, and his light troops having attacked and driven in the outposts, Khosrau, in his alarm, evacuated the city, and sought for safety in an immediate flight. "Heraclius now," in the words of Theophanes,† "took possession of Canzaca; that city of the east which contained the fire-temple, and the treasures of Cræsus, the king of Lydia, and the imposture of the burning coals." Cedrenus continues,‡ "and when the emperor entered into the city, he found the abominable image of Chosroes, a figure of the king, enthroned beneath the globular dome of the palace, as though he were seated in the heavens; around him were emblems of the sun, and moon, and stars, to which, in his superstition, he seemed to offer adoration, as if to Gods, while sceptre-bearing angels ministered on every side, and curiously wrought machines distilled drops of water, to represent the falling rain, and uttered roaring sounds in imitation of the peal of thunder. All these things the emperor consumed with fire, and, at the same time, he reduced to ashes the temple, and the entire city."

Tzetzes,§ in his poetical history, describes this famous palace of Khosrau in nearly the same terms as Cedrenus—and he adds, that the sacred fire of the Persians, originally lighted by a thunder-bolt from heaven,|| had been preserved with extreme care through all succeeding ages, until it was now first extinguished in the fatal visit of Heraclius.

* De Bello Persico, lib. ii. c. 24, p. 147.

Theophanis Chronographia, edit. Goar. p. 258.

Cedreni Historia, edit. Xyland. p. 338.

Tzetze Chiliad. iii. c. 66.

|| Cedrenus, edit. Xyland. p. 18, and Ammianus, book xxiii. c. 6, both mention the tradition of the Persian fire having been lighted from heaven.

There is nothing in these accounts of the Byzantines to determine the position of Canzaca upon the map. The only evidence that we can draw from them is, that Canzaca was in the province of Ažerbijān, and that it contained a famous temple, in which was preserved the sacred and unextinguishable fire of the Persians.

Now that there have been one or more great fire-temples in the province of Ažerbijān, from the remotest antiquity, all Oriental history attests. The very name of the province is believed by the critics to be taken from the fire-worship;* although, I must observe, that, as the title of Atropatene, or Atropatia, does not appear to have been known to the Greeks of the age of Alexander; and, as Strabo's statement of its derivation from Atropates, the Satrap,† is corroborated by eastern traditions, which remove, however, the age of Aderbād to the reign of Kesrá Anúshírwán;‡ the question would seem still open to dispute. But I cannot here pause to discuss this very obscure subject. The two names which occur in reference to the fire-temples of this province, are Ažer-bádegán, or Adhor ábad egán, and Ažergeshesp. If we could place any historical dependence on the Pehleví Bun Dehesh,§ the temples would seem to have been distinguished; that of Ažer Geshesp having been situated on the mountain behind Ushnei, probably at or near the famous Keli-Shín; for it is said that Kái Khosrau, after chasing Azdewjár, from the Var Techesht, placed the Ažergeshesp, one of the three original sacred fires, in a temple upon the mountain of Asnevand.|| Kei Khosrau is generally allowed to be the Cyrus of the Greeks. By Azdewjár, I understand Azdehák, or Astyages. The Var Techesht, which is otherwise called Chejest,¶ and which is described as "a lake in Atún pádegán,** with warm water, curing sickness, and engendering no animal life,"†† is, of course, the lake of Urumiyah, the Khejest, or perhaps, Chejest (for the two words are liable to be mistaken) of Ham-

* Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 128, and Anqueti du Perron in the Acad. des Ins. et Belles Lettres, tom. xxxi. p. 365.

† Strabo (p. 523), who quotes Adlephius Apollonides and Trogus, is also supported by Ptolemy, lib. vi. c. 2, and the same inference may be drawn from Polybius, lib. v., c. 55.

‡ Hamzah Isfahání, an Arabic historian of the 9th century, gives this derivation, and a number of later authors follow him.

§ For remarks on the Bun Dehesh, or Persian Cosmogony, translated from the Pehleví by Anquetil de Perron, see p. 71.

| See Anquetil de Perron's Zend Avesta, tom. iii. p. 384

¶ Techeshteh is the only name employed in the Zend writings. Tchejest is given in the Bun Dehesh as the Pehleví translation.

** The Pehleví name for Ažerbijān.

See Zend Avesta, tom. iii., pp. 395, v. 396.

du-llah Mustaufi,* and the mountain of Asnavend, which is again mentioned as belonging to Atún pádegán,† would thus seem to derive its name from Ushneī—the O'shnah, or Ashnókh, of the Syrians,‡—but still, from the accounts of Tabarí and Firdaúsí, who, in describing the pilgrimage of Kai Khosrú to the great northern temple, name it indifferently both Azerbájján, (the Arabic formation of Azer-bádegán) and Azergeshesp; and, from many other points of evidence, I believe the two titles usually to refer to the same Pyræum which was contained within the city of Shíz. Indeed, I see no other way of reconciling the many apparent discrepancies which have arisen from a confusion of these names, than by supposing the name of A'er-bádegán§ to have been the mere territorial appellation, employed to denote the temple, in the same way as other Pyræa, though they had each distinct and particular titles, were still, commonly called the fire-temple of Belkh, the fire-temple of Fars, the fire-temple of Kúmis, &c.; whilst the designation of Azergeshesp was used in reference to the particular species of the sacred fire which was preserved there; other temples that contained the same fire, having also the same name, and the words being thus at length employed, according to the Borhání-Kāti', to denote a fire-temple in general; and, I believe the real ancient temple of Azer-bádegán, or Azergeshesp, situated in the city of Shíz, or Ec-batana, the great capital of Media, to have been the same which, at some period after its re-edification by Ardeshr Bábegán, the restorer of the Magian religion, assumed the name of Azerekhsh, and continued to be the high place of the fire-worship to the epoch of the Arab invasion.

In working out the history of this fire-temple, it will be necessary to abandon, for once, my usual plan of tracing up the stream of time, from modern days into antiquity—for, the subject forms a distinct and important mass of evidence, the force of which would be altogether lost if brought in piecemeal, according to chronological order, in the different stages of the history of the city: I shall, therefore, anticipate some of my results, and give

* See the former memoir, p. 10.

† Zend Avesta, tom. iii. p. 366.

‡ In the Zend prayers, also, Mount Asnavend is always mentioned between the Var Khosrau, or Lake of Ván and Vár Techesht, or Lake of Urumiyah, and has thus a direct geographical application to Ushneī. See Zend Avesta, tom. iii. pp. 22—328.

§ The old Persian name of the province was Adorábádegán, Adorbádegán, or Adorbáigan, which was Arabicised into Azerbájján, or Azerbján, and the Byzantine titles of Ardabigan, Ἀδοργιάν, Ἀδορβιργιάν, and Ἀδορβυαδριγάν, nearly resemble the ancient Oriental orthography. I usually follow the writing of Azerbján, except when quoting from authors where I am obliged to observe their own spelling. The Orientals sometimes combine the Arabic and Persian formations, and write the word Azerbádegán, or Azerbáigán.

the illustration of this difficult subject, as far as I am able, in a regular and connected form.

With regard to the original foundation of this temple, we cannot expect any very satisfactory evidence; indeed, there is a great diversity of opinion among Greek authors, as to when the building of temples for the preservation of the sacred fire, was first introduced into Persia. Herodotus is distinct in his assertion, that in his day, temples were unknown;* yet the Oriental accounts would assign the creation of this *Pyraeum* to a much earlier age. I repeat, therefore, the tradition of the Persians, rather with a view to determine the position of the temple of *Azerbījān*, in the ancient capital of the province; and to connect their notices of the place from its earliest ages down to the extinction of the fire-worship, than in the hopes of being able to assign it to any definite era of antiquity.

We find the following notice in *Mes'ūdī*, an author who wrote early in the fourth century of the *Hejrah*;† and who consulted on the subject of Persian antiquities a most curious work, entitled "*Tebektegin*," or "*Tebekten*," which he states to have been translated from *Pehleví* into Arabic, by the celebrated convert to *Islám*, '*Abdu-llah Ibn Moḳaffá*':—"Among the fire-temples anterior to *Zoroaster* was one," he says, "in the city (or cities) of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*. It contained idols, which were removed by *Anúshíreván*: it is also said that *Anushíreván*, on arriving at this temple, removed the sacred fire that was preserved in it to another place, named *Birket*."

The double title of *Shíz* and *Arrán*, which *Mes'ūdī* applies to the city that contained the temple, I shall explain hereafter. The passage occurs, with the same orthography, in all the five MSS. of his work that I have consulted; and that he can only allude to the place which is named simply *Shíz* by other authors is evident from a second passage in his history, where, in repeating a story current among the early Persians, relative to *Kei Khosrau*, he employs the same expression of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, and adds that they were a city (or cities) of *Azerbījān*. This remarkable passage also, which commences, "and *Kei Khosráu*, when his maternal grandfather was killed in *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, a city or cities of *Azerbījān*," is, I think, of great interest, independently of the geographical allusion; for though *Mes'ūdī*, in common with all the old *Pehleví* legends, supposes the ancestor of *Kei Khosrau* to have been *Afrásiyáb*, the Turk, yet the coincidence of his state-

* *Lib. i.*, chap. 131.

† *Mes'ūdī*'s epitome, named the *Murúju-ž Zeheb*, the only one of his three historical works now extant, was composed in A.D. 944. It is a most interesting miscellany of history, geography, ancient legends, and the literary gossip of his day, and would be well worth the attention of our Oriental Translation Fund.

ment with the defeat and perhaps the death of Astyages, the real maternal grandfather of Cyrus, or Kei Khosrau, at this very city of Shíz, or Ecbatana, is, I think, too striking not to have some foundation in truth. That the wars, indeed, between Cyrus and Astyages are strangely jumbled in Oriental romance with the contests of Kei Khosrau and Astyages, everything tends to prove. Tabarí, in describing the final defeat of Afrásiyáb, says that he fled from Turkistán, towards Rúm, and was finally captured and slain at a place, which, in one MS. is named Rán, the Ar-Rán of Mes'údí, where he had sought to conceal himself in a *hauz*, or reservoir of water; and I do not doubt but that a reference to other ancient histories, not here available to research,* would confirm this evidence of the identity of Shíz and Ar-Rán with the Median Ecbatana, in showing them to have been the common scene of the great victory of Cyrus or Kei Khosrau over his maternal grandfather.†

But to return to the temple of Azerbáján. Mes'údí ascribes to it an indefinite antiquity, prior to the age of Zoroaster; but most authors agree in referring the foundation particularly to Kei Khosrau. Thus Firdausí, in the *Sháh Náme*, describes the attack by Feríborz, the son of Kei Káuś, upon a famous fortress of Azerbáján, which was named the Castle of Behmen, and which, I believe, as far as the tradition may be received, to refer to the Median citadel of Takhti-Soleimán. Feríborz and all his generals were defeated in the attack, and fell themselves into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were long kept in captivity, until Kei Khosrau, to prove his superior prowess, led a large army in person against the Median fortress, and succeeded in storming the place, and delivering his uncle and other countrymen from their confinement;‡ and in the same castle, Firdausí says, Kei Khosrau, to commemorate his victory, erected the celebrated fire-temple, which was known under the name of Azer Geshep. The Persian history of the *Mojmelu-l Tewárikh*

* In default of the Pehlevi chronicles, and their translations by Ibn Mokáffa' and Ibn Mokanna', we can only hope to get at the true spirit of the ancient legends by consulting the Arab authors prior to the age of Firdausí; for the great bard of Persia seems to have generally sacrificed truth to poetical effect; and unhappily the splendour of his fictions threw altogether into shade the sober narrative of earlier writers, and has been almost uniformly adopted as the basis of history in later ages.

† Ibn Athír and Ibn Júzi, two of the best Arabic historians, and Ahmed Efendí, a modern author, in his compilation called the *Seráju-l Mulúk*, all mention the final capture of Afrásiyábin, the Azerbáján, but without naming any particular city.

‡ In Firdausí the capture of Behmen Diz, or the fort of Behmen, is proposed by Kei Káuś, as the means of deciding the rival claims of Feríborz, his son, and Kei Khosrau, his grandson, to succeed to the throne of Persia; and later writers have supposed this Behmen Diz to be identical with a fort of the same name on the mountain of Sevílán, near Ardebíl, though I do not find the name of Ardebíl mentioned in the *Sháh Náme*.—See Saint Martin, tom. ii. p. 192; D'Herbelot, under the heads of Ardebíl and Kei Káuś; and Noz-heṭo-l Kólub, in the notice of Ardebíl.

follows this story of Firdausí; and the Georgians, as they are quoted by Saint Martin, retain in their annals the same tradition. Tabarí and Firdausí both describe the subsequent pilgrimage of Kei Khosrau to the temple of Azer Geshep or Azerbiján, recalling to mind the expression of Zakariyá, that the ancient kings of Persia always performed a pilgrimage on foot to the great Pyræum of Shíz; and the Bundelesh, though it perhaps errs in the locality, still assigns to Kei Khosrau the building of the Azer Geshep. On referring to the Greeks, we find that the Median Ecbatana was in reality the scene of the strange events that marked the childhood of the great Cyrus. He returned to it again, also, according to Herodotus, after his famous Lydian campaign,* and doubtless deposited in its impregnable citadel the captured spoils of Cræsus, before he commenced his expedition against Babylon. We thus see the origin of the story mentioned by the Byzantines, that Canzaca contained the treasures of Cræsus. Hamdu-llah, in the extract which I have before given, repeats a tradition of the city having been founded by Kei Khosrau; and in a MS. of the 'Ajáibo-l Makhlúqát that I once saw,† I found an account of this same city of Shíz, in which it was stated that the palace contained for many ages the jewelled throne of Kei Khosrau; that Anúshíreván embellished the city, made it his place of residence, and greatly beautified the famous throne; and that shortly afterwards, when Islám arose, the throne was hurled by the inhabitants into the unfathomable lake, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Arabs. These are all so many points of evidence to connect Ecbatana, Canzaca, and Shíz; but against the foundation of the temple by Cyrus or Kei Khosrau, we have the anonymous author quoted by Zakariyá, who distinctly ascribes it to Zerátusht or Zoroaster; and the statement in the modern traveller, from wheresoever it was drawn,‡ would seem to refer the temple to the same origin.

I know not upon what exact grounds Anquetil du Perron pretends to prove that Zoroaster was a native of Urumiyah.§ The Zend and Pehleví, works which he translated, afford certainly most insufficient evidence; and the Indian poem of the Zerdusht

* Lib. i. c. 153.

† This MS. was brought to me some years ago, when I was not aware of its value; and, being full of errors, I refused to purchase it. It contained two chapters "on cities" and "on castles," which were replete with the most interesting geographical information; and as I have since examined nearly a hundred copies of this work, Arabic as well as Persian, without finding one other which possesses those two remarkable chapters, I regard it as perhaps unique.

‡ The orthography of Xiz points out a Spanish authority; but I have not the least idea who this may be.—[Probably Texeira's *Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia*. En Amberes, 1610.—F. S.]

§ In the life of Zoroaster prefixed to the Zend Avesta, Anquetil always assumes that this point has been already proved in his memoir, read to the Academy, which I have not to refer to.

Námeh, must be, I should think, a very doubtful authority. Irán Vij appears in the Bun Dehesh as the birth-place of the Magian prophet; and there are many reasons which incline me to regard that place, the object of so much mystical awe and veneration in the old Persian legends, as identical with the Var of Jemshíd, the Ecbatana of Dejoces, and the Shíz of the Arabs; from whence, according to the traditions mentioned by Zakaríyá, Zerátusht really arose. But I have no occasion here to investigate the most abstruse subject of the age and country of the famous Zoroaster. I shall only remark, that since, in the numerous cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, chiefly of a religious nature, which exhibit at the present day the imperishable records of the times of Darius and Xerxes, no trace of the name or character of the prophet Zoroaster is to be found: it is obvious that he either could not have lived in the age which is usually assigned to him, or that we have most erroneous notions of the influence that he exercised upon the national religion of the country. If, however, he was a native of northern Media, the most likely scene of his first appearance would be the capital of the province; and in this view, perhaps, the statements of Zakaríyá, with respect to Shíz, may be taken into some account in weighing its claim to be considered the representative of Ecbatana.

Little can be gleaned from Oriental authors regarding this early and obscure period in the history of the temple. Some writers, indeed, assert that Queen Homái, the fabulous daughter of Behmen, after abdicating the throne in favour of her son Dáráb, closed her life in the fire-temple of Azerbáján;* and this solitary tradition is, I believe, the last notice of the place that we possess, in the ages preceding the Macedonian invasion.

During the rule of the Arsacidan dynasty in Persia, we know that the religion of Zoroaster gradually fell into disuse; that an idolatrous worship partially usurped its place; that the genuine writings of the prophet were corrupted, or, perhaps, altogether lost; and that the holy fire languished in obscurity on the desecrated altars of the Magi. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this long period of religious darkness, while we have abundant evidence of the existence of northern Media, as a flourishing and independent kingdom, and while the Greek and Latin accounts of its famous capital are minute and satisfactory, we should still be without any notices of the temple contained within its precincts. The fire-worship, however, was at length restored with greater splendour and respect than it had ever previously enjoyed: the priesthood framed a new religious code, which they unblushingly ascribed to Zoroaster; and Ardeshér Bábegán under-

* See the quotations in Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 138.

took the re-establishment of all the great *Pyræa* of the kingdom. We cannot doubt that the temple of *Azerbījān*, the high place of the Magian worship, revived at this period from its long sleep of desecration and obscurity, and that it owed to the royal munificence of *Ardešhīr* the wealth and celebrity that it continued to enjoy during the four succeeding centuries of Sasanian dominion. When *Mosa'ēr* declares that the sacred fire had been preserved upon the altar of *Shīz* for 700 years, he can only refer to its having been placed there by *Ardešhīr Bābegān*; and even in this case there must be a slight exaggeration; for in reality six centuries only elapsed between the ages of *Ardešhīr* and *Mosa'ēr*.* The Orientals, who describe minutely the triumphant progress of *Ardešhīr* through the southern provinces of his empire, and detail the many cities of his foundation in *Fārs*, in *Khūzistān*, and in the Arabian *ʿIrāk*, pass over his northern campaigns almost without notice.† We are thus obliged to turn to the Byzantines to confirm the inference of that monarch having re-edified the city of *Canzaca*; and this we find in *George of Pisidia*, a writer who was contemporary with *Heraclius*, and whose panegyrical poems on the Persian expeditions afford some faint aid in illustrating that obscure period of history. The title that is applied by this author to the great capital of Persia, conquered by *Heraclius*, is *Dar Artesis*; and though it must be confessed that his turgid poetry is not easily convertible to geographical argument, yet I think there are some descriptive points connected with the name which distinctly prove its application to the city called *Canzaca* by the other historians of the war. *George of Pisidia* states that the city owed its origin to *Artasar*, the humble individual who overthrew the Parthian dynasty, and established a line of kings which continued unbroken to his own time; that it was built in almost an impregnable position, and after the fashion of a lofty tower; that it was situated as much northerly, in regard to the Persian territories, as it was southerly in respect to *Constantinople*; that when *Heraclius* approached, it formed "the abode of *Chosroes* and the *Magi*, with the appointed guardians of the sacred fire;" that it was attacked by *Heraclius* with his full array of warlike engines; and that "in here capturing the ancestral

* The age of *Mosa'ēr*, which it is of some interest to ascertain, may be placed about A.D. 825. At least in an extract from his work given in the *Mo'jemo-l Beldān*, under the head *Nihāwend*, he states himself to have travelled with *Abū Dalafo-l 'Ajeli*, who we know died at *Baghdād*, A.D. 839. See *Reiske's Abū'l Fedā*, vol. ii. pp. 175 and 685. *Ardešhīr Bābegān* began to reign A.D. 226.

† *Tabarī* and *Ibn Athīr*, in the *Kāmil*, slightly notice the wars of *Ardešhīr*, in *Armenia*, and *Azerbījān*. The Armenians are more diffuse; but their accounts are confined to their own country. *Moses of Chorene* mentions the fire-temple built by *Ardešhīr* at *Pakavan*, supposed by *Saint Martin* to be *Bákú*, but says nothing of *Azerbījān*. See *Moses, Chor.*, p. 199; *Saint Martin*, tom. i. p. 153.

treasures of Khosrau, and reducing to ashes the idols of Persia, the emperor offered unto God the auspicious first-fruits of his success."*

I mention all these circumstances, because Foggini, the learned editor of George of Pisidia, has, most unaccountably, considered Dar Artesis to refer to Dastágerd, or Deskereh, a city which was situated in the extreme south of the Persian dominions, which was founded by Hormuz in a plain country, and without any extraordinary defences, which surrendered to Heraclius without opposition, and the capture of which, occurring at the close of the last Persian campaign, could not possibly be called the *first* fruits of the emperor's success.† No one who examines the subject will, I believe, doubt that the Dar Artesis of George of Pisidia represents Canzaca or Shíz, and that a curious confirmation is thus obtained of the re-edification of the place by the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. The title of Dar Artesis merely signifies the house of Ardeshr; and as that monarch imposed his name, as a sort of honorary distinction, on numerous cities which he re-established,‡ Canzaca may be supposed in the same way to have retained the epithet, without at all losing her proper and vernacular title. The subject, however, is very difficult of explanation; for Arabic and Persian authors give us no assistance whatever, and the Syrians also, who illustrate so much of the obscure geography of other parts of Persia, having failed to establish Christianity in Azerbiján during the Sasanian ages, are here, for the first time in vain, consulted. There is a solitary notice in Assemani of a Median city, prior to the establishment of Islám. It is called "Beth Raban, a city of the Medes,"§ and was held as an episcopal see in the reign of Fírúz, the grandfather of Anúshíreván, by Abraham, one of the famous scholars of Edessa, who imbibed at that place the tenets of Nestorius, and afterwards spread the heresy throughout the East; but whether this place can have any reference to Canzaca, the capital of the Medes, and the Rán of the Arabic geographers, I cannot of course pretend to decide. The name Artesis I conclude to be the Armenian form of Ardeshr, which is written by St. Mar-

* See George of Pisidia, Heracliad Acros. ii. vv. 167-216.

† See *Hist. Byzant.* N. Appendix, p. 118.

‡ Among others I may mention, from Tabarí and Ibn Athír, Ardeshr Khorreh or Júr, afterwards called Fírúzábád; Rív Ardeshr or Ríshehr, near Abúsheher (Bushier); Hormoz Ardeshr or Ahváz; Asterábád Ardeshr or Kerkhi-Mísán (Spasinæ Charax); Behmen Ardeshr or Forát Mísán (Perath Mesene of the Syrians, near Başrah); Nehr Ardeshr or Nehr Sír (on the site of Seleucia); Berdeh Ardeshr or Hēzeh (Arbela), and many more less known.

§ Tom. i. p. 352, note 4. I almost think, however, that Assemani is mistaken in the statement to which I here refer, and that the name of Beth Rabán, constantly attached to that of Abraham, one of the famous scholars of Edessa, denotes in reality his Syrian place of nativity or residence, rather than his diocese in Media.

tin Ardaschès, and perhaps, (for really in no other possible way can I account for the derivation of the name,) in the last syllable of the word, we may recognise the title of Shíz, that continued to attach to the city after the establishment of the Mohammedan power.

In the Sasanian ages we have frequent notices of the temple of Ažerbáiján: Bahrám Gúr appears to have especially honoured it; for, on returning from his Turkish wars, he consecrated to it the rich and varied spoils of the enemy: the captive wife of the Scythian king was at the same time attached to the temple as a menial, and Bahrám is even stated to have brought to the same place his bride Sepíned, the loveliest princess of India, there to abjure, before the sacred and eternal fire, the idolatrous worship of her country.* The place is named indifferently the temple of Ažerbáiján, and the temple of Ažergeshesp, and its pre-eminence over the other Pyræa of the kingdom is again mentioned by Tabarí, who says, that “of all the fire-temples of Persia, Bahrám respected this the most.”

In the reign of Anúshíreván it continued the great object of popular veneration. On this head the evidence of Procopius is full and decisive; and we may remark, that from its being usually termed the temple of Aderbigan, that author was led to suppose the title to refer to the city in which it was situated.† Firdausí describes, with some detail, the visit of Anúshíreván, and the munificent offerings which he lavished upon the temple and its guardians; and the 'Ajáibo-l Makhlúkát, in also noticing the embellishment, by the same king, of the throne of Kei Khosraú, at Shíz, affords another link of evidence to connect together the original traditions of Cyrus at Ecbatana, the establishment of the court of Chosroes or Anúshíreván in the city of Ardabigan, and the Byzantine tales of the treasures of Cræsus, which were deposited in the citadel of Canzaca; and when we further remark that the peculiar circumstance of containing a great fire-temple, the most holy of all the Pyræa of the Magi, is common to the Byzantine accounts of Ardabigan or Canzaca, and to the Oriental descriptions of this city of Shíz, we draw an obvious inference that the various names must necessarily refer to the same place, and that the identification of the Sasanian capital of Atropatene is thus determinately proved. Mes'údi, in the extract which I

* See Ouseley's Travels, vol. i. pp. 137-139.

† The territorial title was really, it would appear from the following passage in Tabarí, applied to the city as well as to the temple:—"The fire-temples of the Persians were in Adorbáigán, and there was the origin of the fire-worship. Fire in Pehlevi is called 'Ador,' from whence came the name of Adorbáigán. The province commences from Hamadán and the river of Zengán, and extends to Derbendi-Khizrau (the Caucasian gates), and the cities contained within these limits are all named Adorbáigán."

have already given, mentions that Anúshíreván, on his visit to this temple, removed the sacred fire to a place called Birket; but this can hardly have been the case, as in the succeeding reign we find the temple still retaining its sacred character, and in the time of Mosa'ér the fire was believed to have been preserved unextinguished upon the altar since the days of Ardeshr.

There is, besides, no Pyræum, or sacred place, which I can find, in all Oriental geography corresponding with the Birket of Mes'údí; and I am rather inclined, therefore, to suppose that, as the word merely signifies a reservoir, it may refer to the natural lake of the city, on the margin of which Anúshíreván either rebuilt, or at least repaired the temple. Mes'údí, also, in another passage, connects the name of Anúshíreván with the most holy of all the fires of Persia, in a way which I confess led me, at first, to refer his allusion to this same temple. "Anúshíreván," he says, "found the original fire which had been worshipped by King Jem, and which had been removed by Kei Khosrau from Khwárezm to Dárábjird; and he transferred this fire, the most holy of all those fires that are worshipped by the Persians, to the temple of Káriyán; and when Islam arose, the Magians, in apprehension lest the flame should be altogether lost, removed a part of it to Nisá and Beizá,* cities of Fárs, and left the remaining part at Káriyán, in order that, if it should chance to be extinguished upon one altar, it might survive upon the other." Finding the name written in one manuscript Káziyán or Gáziyán, I was led to refer it to Gaza or Canzaca, in the same way as I have proposed to read Gázeh, in Tabarí, for Gáh; but as all the other copies of Mes'údí write the word Kárián, which is explained by Yáqút, as the title of "a small town in Fárs, containing a castle situated upon a mound of earth, which is impregnable to force;" and as a fire-temple in the country of Fárs of this very name continued to the time of Jēihání, in the eleventh century of Christ, to be the most venerated of all the Pyræa of the province, I cannot now doubt but that the true orthography is Káriyán, and that the notice of Mes'údí refers to the great Persian temple,† the site of which, however, must, I fear, still remain a mystery.

* At the time of the Arab invasion among the cities of Fárs, Beizá was only second in consideration to Istekhr. The early Oriental authors describe at this place sculptures and ruins which I can hardly doubt to be of the same class as those at Persepolis, and the discovery of which will probably reward the search of the first European traveller who examines the district. The name of Beizá is now applied to the whole mahalleh or district north of Shíráz, and west of the Merdásht plain. Nisá, conjoined with Beizá by Mes'údí, is probably the Niserga of Ptolemy, and perhaps the Nisacus of the map of Peutinger.

† Mes'údí's account of the Persian fire-temples is abridged by Shehristání, and from him copied into Hyde (*Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 153), where the name of Káriyán, however, is corrupted into Kármán, and assigned to the city of Kirmán.

In the reign of Hormuz, the son of Anúshíreván, Khosraú Parvíz gave the first evidence of his attachment to the temple of Shíz in taking refuge within its sacred precincts against the anger of his father. "Parvíz," in the words of Tabari, "arrived in Azerbáján, and entering the temple of Azergeshesp, he there employed himself in devotional exercise. When he was restored to the throne of Persia by the intervention of Roman aid, after his father's death, he also held his first court in Canzaca or Shíz, as I have already shown from Theophylact and the Oriental histories." On the approach of Heraclius he again occupied the city, and "abode there with the Magi and the guardians of the sacred fire;" and when he was obliged to evacuate the place, he carried with him, in his flight to Dastágerd, (as I understand Theophanes,) the treasures of Cræsus and the imposture of "the burning coals." This imposture of the burning coals answers exactly to the description of Mosa'er, that "the fire had been preserved for 700 years, and no part of it had turned to ashes;" and as the fire seems to have been taken away by Khosraú in his flight, we may infer that it was preserved unextinguished upon some altar inaccessible to the attack of the Christians; and that when Persia recovered for a short period her domestic tranquillity, after the death of Khosraú and the retirement of the Roman legions, it was restored to its original temple, probably by Ros-tom, the governor of Azerbáján,* and continued to blaze there for two centuries later, when it was seen and described by the Arab traveller. The description which the Byzantines give of the image of Khosraú, seated under the dome of the palace or temple, amid the emblems of the sun, and moon, and stars, is certainly curious, and recalls to mind the later Sasanian coins, which thus uniformly exhibit the head of the king surrounded by figures of the heavenly bodies; perhaps, too, these are the idols which are mentioned by Mes'údí in the temple of Shíz; though he must be in error in supposing them to have been removed by Anúshíreván.†

The Byzantines pretend that the city and all it contained were doomed by Heraclius to one great and general conflagration; but this is, obviously, false, as I shall now show in briefly tracing

* See Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 358.

† Since writing the above I have met with the following passage in the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XLIII. p. 79:—"Mes'údí affirms that even in his time statues and pictured representations of forms terrestrial and celestial were to be found at *El Sheez*, the seat of the Magi." I have searched the Mur'ju-z Żehab in vain for the statement which is here referred to; and as Tabari also, who wrote nearly forty years before Mes'údí, declares the temple of Shíz to have been in ruins in his day, I cannot help thinking the reviewer mistaken in his authority. But still, from whatever source the information may be drawn, it is most interesting, and strikingly accords with the Byzantine stories of Canzaca.

the steps of the Romans, after the flight of Chosroes to Dastagerd. Heraclius, after the conquest of Canzaca, moved upon a city called Thebarma, by Theophanes, which he captured and burnt. This is supposed by D'Anville to be Urumíyah, and the verification has remained unimpeached to the present day.* As Urumíyah, however, would have been altogether out of the line of Heraclius's march from Takhti-Soleimán, upon Dastagerd, whither, it is evident, he was pursuing his enemy, I cannot admit the identification, which, indeed, appears solely to rest upon a fancied similarity of sound, and upon the pre-supposition of Canzaca being represented by Tabriz. I should look for Thebarma somewhere in Kurdistán proper; but I confess myself to have failed in discovering any name that might reasonably be brought forward to replace the identification of D'Anville. From Thebarma, Heraclius continued the pursuit of Chosroes through the mountainous defiles of Media; and thus, whether he followed the southern road by Kirmánsháh, or the western route through the present district of the Bábáns, the nature of the country will suit well enough with the description. On the approach of winter, the emperor retraced his steps to the warm pastures of Albania, and with the return of spring he again prepared to renew the contest. This, his second campaign, in which Gibbon supposes him to have penetrated into the heart of Persia, appears to me to have been confined to the countries bordering on the Arras.† The great city of Salban, at any rate, with the capture of which the campaign terminated, I have no difficulty in identifying with the Armenian capital of Ván. Sál is, evidently, the Kurdish Shál, or Shár, (for the *l* and *r* are constantly confounded,) signifying a city; and Bán is the same word which is written Buana by Ptolemy, and Iban by Cedrenus;‡ the title of Salban, thus, being literally the city of Ván. From the ancient celebrity of the city, founded, as it is supposed, by Semiramis, the exact applicability of the geographical indication, and the perfect identity of name, there can be no question, I think, regarding this illustration, which seems, nevertheless, to have escaped the observation both of Gibbon and of D'Anville.§

When Heraclius prepared to leave Salban, two roads were open to him, both mountainous and difficult, one leading to

* Ancient Geography, vol. ii. p. 22

† In following the steps of Heraclius, I have not the means of collating many authorities which would be of assistance to the enquiries, such as Nicephorus, Eutychius, the *Historia Miscellanea*, and the *MS. Chronicles* of George the Monk and Simeon the Logothete. I chiefly follow Theophanes and Cedrenus.

‡ See Saint Martin, tom. i., p. 138.

§ Gibbon observes in a note to his 46th chapter—"I cannot find, and what is much more, Mr. D'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Salban, Tarantum territory of the Huns, &c., mentioned by Theophanes."

Tarantum, the other into Syria. That by Tarantum was the shorter, but destitute of supplies, the other conducting over Mount Taurus, into Syria, was also difficult and blocked by snow, but the country through which it lay furnished supplies in abundance. The emperor chose the latter road, and at the end of seven days' most laborious marching, he reached the Tigris, from whence he prosecuted his route to Martyropolis and Amida. These two routes are certainly to be recognised; the one, in that conducting from Ván through the Hekárrí country and Rowándiz, to Arbíl; and the other, in the high road which leads from the same place, by Betlís to Miyáfárekín and Diyár-Bekr. The name Tarantum I believe to be a corruption of Revend or Orontes,* and the line which conducts through those mountains is the most impracticable in all Kurdistán. Heraclius pursued the high road, and traversed the interval between Ván and Betlís, where he would first reach the Tigris,† in seven laborious marches; the distance being, according to the estimate of Colonel Sheil, published in the *Geographical Journal*, nearly 100 miles.‡

Heraclius, again, in the autumn of the succeeding year, undertook his third and last expedition into Persia. Crossing the Armenian frontier in September, he must have pushed through Azerbáján with extreme rapidity; for, on the 9th of October we find him refreshing his army at Chamaetha,§ which I suppose to be an error for Chnaitha,|| after having crossed the mountain barrier between Media and Assyria. The Persian general, who was sent from the south to oppose him, advanced to Canzaca, and from thence followed the emperor across the mountains, suffering greatly on his march from the scarcity of supplies. It is not clear how the Romans were employed during the ensuing month;¶ but, on the first of December, Heraclius is stated to have passed the greater Záb, and, shortly afterwards, he fought the great battle of Niniveh. Returning to that river after his victory, he again crossed it, and then continued his march to the lesser Záb, along the high road, which, until times comparatively modern, seems to have followed a line nearly parallel to the Tigris, and at

* The orthography of all the names in Theophanes is most corrupted, as I shall have frequent occasion to remark.

† The Betlís cháí is not the true Tigris, but, as one of the most considerable of its early tributaries, was probably mistaken for such by the Greeks.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. viii. part i., p. 71.

§ Written indifferently *Χαμαίθα* and *Χαμνίθα*.

|| The Honita of the Syrians, see page 72.

¶ Theophanes says that the emperor only remained 7 days at Chamaitha, and this is confirmed by the letter of Heraclius to the Senate, where he says that he had previously reported his movements from Oct. 17th to March 25th; the 17th of October being the very day on which he would have broken ground after his halt—he was probably employed in ravaging the district of Marga, the Merj of the Arabs and modern Kói Sanjáq, between the two Záb.

a short distance from its banks. Beyond the lesser Záb, Heraclius occupied a position which is entitled Iesdem, both by Theophanes and in the emperor's own letter to the Senate ; and which, as we find no city or town of that name in the province of Adiabene, I conclude to have been a mere settlement of the heretical I'zedís,* or, as they were afterwards named by the Mohammedans, Yezídís. Continuing his march from hence, he next reached a town containing a palace of Khosrau, which he destroyed. This place, both in Theophanes and Cedrenus, bears the title of Rusa, a name, however, which, as it does not admit of illustration from the contemporary Syrians, who afford the most copious geographical notices of all this part of Asia, I cannot help regarding as false. If we suppose, at the same time, a transposition of letters, we shall obtain the word Sura, and this we may, perhaps, regard as identical with the Sori, or Beth Sori, of the Syrians ; a city which was certainly situated in this vicinity, as it formed an episcopal see during the Sasanian ages, under the metropolitan of Beth Germa ; and the disappearance of which, from the Syrian annals, after the era of Mohammed, may possibly be explained by this very visit of Heraclius.

After destroying Rusa or Sura, the emperor went on to the Torna, a name which at once recalls to mind the Tornadotus of Pliny ; and which modern geographers, relying on the evidence of Otter, have not scrupled to identify with some imaginary Odoneh. Not only, however, is there no river of this name in all Oriental geography, but, as far as I am able to form an opinion, there never has been such a name employed in the country, either in times past or present. The river which Otter is supposed to denote by the name Odoneh, is, in reality, known by no other title than that of the 'Adheim.† It is formed by the confluence of the three petty streams of Kerkúk, Tóúk, and Tóz Khurmetlí ; and is of too unimportant a character to be noticed by the Arab geographers. The 'Adheim, also, will in no way answer either the description or the geographical indication of Theophanes. The Torna was not fordable, as is evident from the emperor's apprehension lest the Persians should dispute the passage of the bridge, and his satisfaction afterwards, at being allowed to cross the bridge unmolested ; while, at the season of the emperor's visit, the end of December, the 'Adheim would scarcely have had two feet of water, and could have presented no impediment to his passage. Again, as the emperor celebrated Christmas at the lesser Záb, and pitched his camp at Beklam, beyond the Torna,

* The expression in the Greek is the houses or dwellings (*οἶκον*) of Iesdem, in evident reference to a tribe, as it appears to me, for otherwise the whole would have been *πάμνη, χωρίον, or πύλις*.

† The *h* in Arabic, is sounded like the *th* in *thou*, in Persian like a common *j* z.

on the 1st of January, one day having been, also, lost upon the road in the destruction of Sura, five marches only could have been consumed between the rivers. The distance from the lesser Záb to the 'Adheim, at the nearest point where Heraclius could have reached it, is nearly 100 miles, which is certainly too great a distance to be travelled by an army in five days, with an enemy in front. The identification, therefore, of the Torna of Theophanes with the Odorneh of Otter, supposing this name to represent the 'Adheim, is thus shown to be untenable. I will now endeavour to give the true illustration.

The Torna of Theophanes, and the Tornadotus of Pliny, I consider to be both represented by the northern arm of the great Nahrawán canal. This is named by the Arabic geographers Kátúr; and, in the last syllable of the word, I believe that I recognise the title of Torna.* The canal is described by Tabarí as a work of the Sasanians, and Zakariyá Kazviní distinctly ascribes it to Anúshíreván, but it is probable that the Sasanians only repaired an ancient excavation, which dated from the time of the Assyrian monarchs.† It was derived from the Tigris, at three points; the most northernly of which was near Imám Dúr,‡ a short distance above the great city of Kerkh, the Beth Seluk of the Syrians; and this arm, it is evident from Tabarí, was the real original Kátúr; though, subsequently the two other branches were known by the same name. Below the junction of the three streams, according to Abú-l Fedá, the canal lost the name of Kátúr, and assumed that of Nahrawán.§ To the northern arm of this canal, which, in the days of Khosrau Pervíz, was certainly full of water, I accordingly conduct Heraclius, in five marches, from the lesser Záb; the intervening distance being about 80 miles.|| Any one who has seen the tremendous bed of the Kátúr, above 100 yards in breadth, will understand the disinclination of

* The name Kátúr I believe to be Arabicised from the Persian words Káu Túr, which signify the canal or excavation of Túr. Torna is probably a contraction of Túr Nahr, which has the same meaning; and we thus discover the real name of the canal in the Duris of Zosimus. The suffix of Nadotus employed by Pliny is probably an error for Narotus, and refers to the same word Nahr. The plain of Dura, on which Nebuchadnezzar erected the golden image, probably indicates the same locality, and the two Arabian towns of Dúr, which were to the N. and S. of the point, where the northern arm of the canal, the real original Kátúr, was derived from the Tigris, have an evident reference to this ancient name.

† With the usual confusion of the *r* and *l*, the name appears in the later geographers, under the form of Kátúl.

‡ Abú-l Fedá says, near the Kašo-l Motewekkil, commonly called El Ja'ferí.

§ For accounts of this canal, see Tabarí in his notice of the building of Sámerá; Abú-l Fedá, and Zakariyá, in their chapters on rivers; and, above all, Yákát, in the Morásid, under the head Kátúl; also Més'údí's Caliphate of Mota'sem. [See note §, p. 97.]

|| Supposing the passage of the lesser Záb to have been about midway between its mouth and Altún Kópri, the direct distance will be a degree of latitude. Hamdu-llah gives the measurement from Kerkh to the lesser Záb, upon this line, at 22 farsakhs.

Heraclius to encounter the Persians at the bridge—in the face of an enemy it would have been quite impossible to have forced a passage—and the Emperor would have been thus obliged to abandon his design upon the capital, beyond the Torna. The Persian general, however, was afraid to oppose him; and Heraclius, doubtless, passing the Kátúr by the noble bridge, of which the remains are still visible, immediately to the N. of the ruins of Eski Baghdád,* occupied the city, of which these ruins mark the site, and which, under its various names of Kerkh, Beit Selúk, and Beit Germá, or Bájermá, continued to be the metropolis of all Southern Assyria, during the whole period of the Sasanian empire. It must have been with a view of attacking this great city that the Emperor was so anxious to cross the Torna; and I cannot hesitate, therefore, in recognising, in the name of Beklam, which Cedrenus applies to the city, beyond the river, a barbarous corruption of the real Syrian title of Beit Germá. The confusion of the *r* and *l* I have already often noticed; and I conceive that the klam, or Gelam of the Greeks, may be thus intended for the Arabic plural formation of Geram; the whole title of Beglam, or more properly Bá Gerám, having the same signification with the Syrian, Beit Germa, of the house or city of the Garamæans.† In support of this illustration, which the previous identification of the Kátúr and Torna, and the restoration of the barbaric Beglam, to its true orthography, would seem to render almost certain, I may further remark, that it is impossible to suppose the contemporary Syrians could have been silent on the subject of so considerable a place as Beklam must necessarily have been to have contained the magnificent palace and paradise of Khosrau, which are described by the historians of the war; and yet, that in the whole range of their copious geographical notices of this district, there is, positively, no other title to be found, which, by any species of etymological violence, can be forced into a similarity, however remote, with the corrupted name employed by the Byzantines. From Beit Germá, Heraclius

* This ruined bridge is now named Kanţarah Resási, or the leaden bridge, from the metal clamps with which the blocks of stone were fastened together, and it has further given the title of Resás to the dry bed of the Kátúr, among the Arabs of the present day. The canal, however, is more generally called by the modern Arabs, Nahr-Súrah.

† The orthography of Cedrenus is usually to be preferred to that of our present copies of Theophanes. This name is written in the MSS. of Theophanes Βεκλάρμ, Βεκλάρλι, and Βηγλάρλι, in all of which the last λ is certainly an error of some ancient copyist for μ. In Cedrenus we have the orthography of Βεκλάρμ, which I could farther restore to Βηγλάρμ. Ba is the common Arabic contraction for the Syrian Beit, and the name of this city was thus written in Arabic, Bá Jermá; but were the name used to denote a people, as I suppose in this instance, the Arabic formation would be Bá Jeram. See the various reading in Goar's Theophanes, p. 534; and Assemani, tom. iv., p. 732. The Arabs in a later age corrupted the name of the Garamæans into Jerámikeh.

probably followed down the course of the Kátúr, to the ruins supposed to represent the site of Opis,* where he crossed the canal by another bridge, of which the remains are also visible, and, passing at the same place the petty stream of the 'Adheim, he must from thence have struck across the desert to the Diyáleh, along the right bank of the Kháliš canal. The name of this river (the Diyáleh) is not mentioned in the Greek accounts of the campaign. Khosrau is merely described as having encamped, with a large force, at a place called Barasroth, 5 miles from Dastagerd (according to most copies of Theophanes),† where there was a river, difficult of passage, and having a narrow bridge, which was further obstructed by confined ways among the houses, and by old water-courses. The Barasroth of the Greeks I conclude to be identical with the Berázzrúd of Yákút,‡ a canal which was derived from the Diyáleh: § Khosrau was probably encamped at the mouth of the canal; and this will agree tolerably well with the indication of 5 miles' distance from the site of Deskereh, even supposing that the reading of Tamerd, which occurs in one manuscript, is not to be preferred to that of Destagerd.|| When Khosrau fled to Ctesiphon, Heraclius advanced, and, crossing the river without opposition, occupied the palace of Bebdareh. This name is probably the Arabic Báḅ, a gate, in composition with some other word which I confess I do not recognise, and appears to apply to a palace on the immediate outskirts of Dastagerd. It may, perhaps, be represented by the remarkable ruins of the Zindán.¶ Of the identity of Dastagerd, with the Sasanian ruins

* The identification of Opis must obviously depend upon the antiquity of the Kátúr or Nahrawán excavation. From the account of Zenophon we certainly should not suppose the canal to have existed at the time of the retreat; but if it can be proved to be of an earlier age, then the Phycus will be represented by the canal rather than by the 'Adheim, and Opis must be removed from its present supposed position to near the ruins of Eskí Baghdád.

† In one of the MSS. of Theophanes, the name of Ταμίζδ is employed in this passage instead of that of Δασαγίρδ, and I suspect correctly. Ταμίζδ is of course the Oriental Támerreh, or Támerret, a name given to the Diyáleh, from a town upon its banks, the exact position of which, however, I fear cannot be ascertained, unless it be considered identical with Jallálá.

‡ See Morásido-l Ittilá', under the head Támerá; the name is now corrupted into Beládrúz.

§ The Barázzrúd is derived from the Diyáleh, below the Hamerín hills, at a point where, in former times, was the great passage of the river. Near this Major Keppel found some Sasanian sculptures, and I have heard that there are the remains of a bridge at the same place. The town of Deskereh was watered by the Táḅith, now the Shehribán canal, as I find from the journal of a friend who has just visited the ruins, and whose statement is confirmed by that of Yákút, under the head Táḅith, in the Morásido-l Ittilá'.

|| The real distance must be about 7 or 8 miles.

¶ There is here a *hiatus* in the present copies of Theophanes, which, however, is supplied from an old Latin translation, by Anastasius, where we find that the Emperor did not, on this occasion, enter Dastagerd, but proceeded direct from the river to the palace of Bebdarach, merely sending a detachment to occupy the city. See the Notæ Posteriores in Goar's Theophanes, p. 651.

of Eski Baghdád, that were visited by Rich, there can hardly be any question.

The Arabic historians and geographers enable us to trace out this identification in the most satisfactory manner possible. Tabarí directly mentions the flight of Khosrau to Deskeretu-l Melik, a city containing a large and strong castle, and the most considerable place in all the country of 'Irák.* Jaihání again, in the eleventh century, writes of Deskeretu-l Melik, that it was a city situated among date-trees, populous, and surrounded with cultivation, and possessing a large fort, girt round with a mud wall, within the area of which there was no trace of building or habitation. Idrísí places it upon the high road into Persia, at the distance of 16 farsakhs from Baghdád; and all the other itineraries confirm this geographical position.† Yákút describes it in all his three works, the Mo'jemu-l Beldán, Moshterik, and Morásidu-l-ittilá';‡ he notices its celebrity under the Sasanians, and ascribes its foundation to Hormuz, the grandson of Ardeshr; in his day it had fallen to the condition of a mere village, and was situated, he says, "in the district of Khorásán, near the town of Shehribán." Abu-l Fedá, and many other authors, whom it is unnecessary to quote, all afford evidence of the same nature; and the only thing that is required to remove all doubt regarding its exact verification, is the discovery of some local tradition among the Arabs, which may still attach the name of Deskereh to the ruins of Eski Baghdád.§ Theophanes, in stating that the effeminate Khosrau was driven by his fears to travel 25 miles a day, and that he occupied three days in his flight from Dastagerd to Ctesiphon, appears to me distinctly to prove the interval between the two cities to have been 25 Roman miles; and the circumstantial evidence of the march of Heraclius confirms his statement, which, nevertheless, was misunderstood by his copyist Cedrenus, and which, in its supposed determination of 25 miles for the entire distance, has been a source of perplexity to modern geographers. The road distance from Eski Baghdád to Táki-Kesrá, would be, as near as possible, 70 British miles, the equivalent of 75 Roman miles. Khosrau, after his arrival at Ctesiphon, is said by Theophanes to have crossed the Tigris in his alarm, and to

* Ibu-l Athír, in the *Ḳámil*, gives the last Oriental account that I have met with of this campaign of Heraclius, and makes frequent mention of Deskeretu-l Melik.

† Jaihání's map also of 'Irákí 'Areb, gives the same emplacement to Deskereh.

‡ The name is written by the Orientals Deskereh, Deskeret, and sometimes Destekert, but these are probably mere Arabic formations of the pure Persian word Destagerd, which is the exact orthography of the Byzantines. Destekertu-l Melik is stated by Jaihání to signify the royal camp.

§ Eski Baghdád, or old Baghdád, is a name commonly given by the Arabs to ruins, of whose real history they have no tradition; and it has thus happened that the two cities of Kerkh and Deskereh are known by the same title at the present day. There are other ruins of the same name also in *Kurdistán*.

have taken refuge in Seleucia, which the Persians named Guedesir. This title I at once restore to its Oriental orthography of Wádí Sír, and identify with Nahr Sír,* a name of precisely the same signification which was bestowed by the Sasanians on a town of their foundation, built upon the site of Seleucia, and which continued as late as the age of Yakút, to denote the suburb of Modáin, on the right bank of the Tigris.

Heraclius, in his anxiety to put a decisive end to the war, could have allowed his army little rest, either at Beit Germa or Deskeret; for, upon the seventh day after he first pitched his camp beyond the Torna, we find him again upon the march from Dastagerd, advancing in the direction of Ctesiphon. At the end of three marches, which I estimate at 51 Roman, or about 48 British miles, he reached a point distant 24 Roman miles from Ctesiphon; the great river Arba occurring midway upon the line between that point and the city. The name of this river, which is written Arba, by Theophanes, and which, under this false orthography, has been perpetuated in the writings of D'Anville and Gibbon, I must at once restore. Cedrenus gives us the form of Narba; but, in the letter of Heraclius to the Senate, contained in the Paschal chronicle, and in the manuscript chronicle of Simeon the Logothete,† the still more perfect form of spelling is preserved of Narban, which expressed, as near as the Greek alphabet will admit, the true Oriental orthography of Nahr Wán.‡ The bed of the Nahr Wán canal, in this part of its course nearly equal to the Tigris, passes at the distance of about 11 miles to the N. of Tāki Kesrá, and here, in the time of Khosrau, there was a pontoon-bridge to facilitate the communication between the two cities of Deskeret and Ctesiphon.§ Heraclius, from his camp,

* Nahr Sír is a contraction of Nahr Ardeshr, a name given to this city on its re-edification, by Ardeshr Bábégán. At the time of the Arab invasion it was one of the chief cities of Babylonia. See Ibn Athir, the Rauze-to-l Ahbab of Atáu-llah, the famous Tárikhi Baghdád, Yákút and Abúl-Fedá.

† Pasch. Chron. Edit. Dind., vol. i. p. 731; and vol. ii., p. 493.

‡ In all the maps hitherto published, which profess to treat of Comparative Geography, this spurious name of Arba is attached to the Diyáleh; and even the restored orthography of Narban will be liable to the same error without explanation; for, in many later geographical works, the Diyáleh is actually named the Nahr Wán. It is necessary to observe, therefore, that when the canal became blocked up, the Diyáleh, which had been before absorbed in it, continued to flow in the dry bed, from Bakúbá to the city of Nahr Wán, and on this account, assumed the name in the lower part of its course.—See Yákút's Mo'jemo-l Beldán, under the head Nahr Wán, and Hám-do-l lah's chapter on rivers.

§ Yákút distinguishes between the two canals of Káful and Nahr Wán, and attributes them to different ages. The Káful he describes as the canal derived from the Tigris, in the vicinity of Sámarrá, and prolonged to the Diyáleh at Bakúbá: it was first excavated, he says, in remote antiquity, and subsequently repaired and augmented, both by Anúshirvân and Hárún al Rashíd, while the Nahr Wán was derived from the Diyáleh, at the city of Nahr Wán, and prolonged through the desert to Wašit. It was also a work of remote antiquity, and fell into ruin during the troubles in which the Khaliphate was involved on the rise of the Seljukian dynasty. I consider his authority

at the distance of 12 miles from the river, sent on to endeavour to seize the bridge, but this had been previously removed by the orders of Khosrau; and, as the Roman scouts also failed to discover any point at which the Nahr Wán was fordable, the Emperor had no resource but to abandon his attack on Ctesiphon, and retrace his steps into Persia. I conclude that he followed the route which is laid down in Idrísí; and which, conducted by the high Persian road as far as Kasri-Shírín, and from thence struck up through the modern district of Zoháb to Shehrizúr, crossing the Diyáleh by the ford of Bánákhilán. The town of Shehrizúr, named by the Byzantines, Siazur,* was situated, I have now no doubt, after examining the country, at the ruins of Yásín Teppéh, where there is an immense elevated platform, exceeding, I think, in height and extent, any of the mounds either at Babylon or Susa. He remained here until the 24th of February, as he expressly states in his letter to the Senate, and then resumed his march to Canzaca. In four marches along the high road to Canzaca, he would reach the town, usually called Báneh, at the foot of the great pass, leading across Mount Zagros, the distance being about 80 miles, and being divided into four regular menzils or stages. The proper name of this town is Berózeh,† Báneh being the title of the district; and here, accordingly, we have the representative of the Barza of Theophanes. At this place the Emperor remained seven days, according to Theophanes, employed, doubtless, in making arrangements for the passage of the mountain; and thus, as the year 628 was a bissextile, we may, without much chance of error, fix the date of his departure from Baneh, upon March 6th.‡ The remaining distance from Báneh to Takhti-Soleimán, along the direct route,

decisive, notwithstanding that the ignorant Arabs of the present day attach the name of Nahriwán to both canals; and although it is stated that a continued line of banks can be traced along the route of the Diyáleh, from the point where the ancient Kátúr joined that river at Bakúbá, to where the real Nahr Wán leaves the Diyaleh, about 18 miles above the point of its confluence with the Tigris. These banks may have been constructed to prevent inundation from the Diyáleh, after its waters were swollen by the immense stream of the Nahr Wán, and do not, in my opinion, at all prove the continuation of an artificial excavation between Bakúbá and the ruins of the town of Nahriwán.

* In the Emperor's letter Σιαζούρ. See Pasch. Chron. Edit. Dindorf, vol. i., p. 732.

† The Kurds believe this word Berózeh to be a corruption of Pírúzeh, a name derived from a certain Pírúz, who founded the place, but I should rather refer the two names of Báneh and Berzeh to the Kurdish words Bán and Berz, which have both the same meaning of "high or above," and apply most aptly to the very elevated position of this mountain district.

‡ The intercalary day of the Julian year occurred between the 23rd and 24th of February; if we suppose the Emperor to have left Shehrizúr upon this day, we can allow seven clear days for the halt at Barza: if the date of departure was the true 24th after the intercalation, we must include the day of arrival in the seven days' halt of Theophanes. The difference of a single day, however, either more or less, can be of no consequence to the general argument.

by Sekiz, measures, as far as I have had means of ascertaining from the peasantry, about 106 miles; and this interval, at the average daily rate of marching, of 5 parasangs, or between 17 and 18 British miles, which appears to me to be verified, as well by the ancient authorities as in its approximate application to the recorded itineraries of the march of armies in the East, both in times ancient and modern,* could not require less than six days' march for its passage—the date of the arrival of Heraclius, at Canzaca, or Takhti-Soleimán, being thus determined, by a very simple process of calculation, to be March the 11th, which exactly coincides with the statement in the Emperor's letter to the Senate—that, upon the 7th of April he had been already twenty-seven days encamped at Canzaca. I consider this march of Heraclius, from Shehrizúr, by the Báneh pass, to Canzaca, to corroborate, in a most remarkable way, the evidence which I have before adduced, of the identity of that city with Takhti-Soleimán: but there are also some other points of information contained in the Emperor's letter, which are worthy of being noticed, as they serve still further to strengthen the argument.

The pass of Báneh, I must observe, is the only point at which the mountain range of Zagros can be crossed after the autumn upon the road conducting from Shehrizúr into Media;† and there can be thus no doubt whatever as to its representing the passage of Mount Zara, mentioned by Heraclius.‡ But after a few falls of snow this defile also becomes impassable; and all communication, except by foot travellers, is cut off between the eastern and western faces of the mountain. In the year of the Emperor's visit the winter appears to have set in remarkably late. The first fall of snow, indeed, as he himself mentions, did not take place until the 24th of February; and he was thus able to

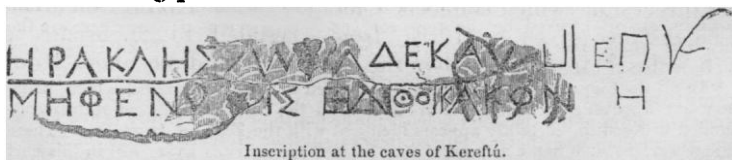
* Five ancient parasangs, or 150 Olympic stadia, are equal to $18\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles, or nearly $17\frac{1}{4}$ British, and this I have usually found rather below than above the average daily rate of marching in Persia, both of ancient and modern armies; however, I consider any systematic estimate for the measurement of a day's march, a most deceptive means of analysis, and to be avoided as much as possible in the illustration of Comparative Geography.

† Rich's Pass, named Garran; the Naukhán Pass, conducting from Penjwin to Meriwán, midway between Garrán and Báneh; and the Kortek Pass, leading into Sardesh, are all blocked by the snow very early in the season; and these are the only lines which cross the range between the Gates of Zagros, at Táki-Gerráh, and the Keli-Shím of Ushneí.

‡ In all the maps the name of Daroo is applied to these mountains, which, being the usual Kurdish contraction of Dárá Kúh, and the *d* and *z* being constantly confounded in Kurdish, certainly appears identical with the Zara of Heraclius. There is, however, no such name at present known in the country. Every hill in this part of Zagros has some particular title; and the mountain above Báneh is named Khán, from a ruined khán, or caravanserai, in the pass; and sometimes Gird Kúh, from an old fort of this title, said to contain sculptures and inscriptions, on the summit of the range. I refer all these names of Zara, Dálá Hú, or Dalá Kúh above Zoháb, and perhaps even Zagros, to an original title of Dárá Kúh, signifying, like Sháhú, "the royal mountain."

cross the mountains while the pass still remained open. Afterwards, however, he says it continued to snow uninterruptedly until the end of March; and the messengers, accordingly, whom he had dispatched on the 25th of the month, to treat with Siroes, found themselves unable to cross the range. The messengers left Canzaca on the 25th of March, and in four regular caravan marches, doubtless, reached the village of Mírideh, at the eastern foot of the pass. Beyond this, however, they were unable to proceed, the pass being blocked up by snow. At the same time they learned, that another party, sent by Siroes, was also detained upon the western side of the mountain with dispatches for the Emperor, and, deeming the intelligence of moment, they immediately sent back a courier to Canzaca. The man who conveyed the tidings of course travelled with expedition, and may be supposed to have performed the journey between Mírideh and Takhti-Soleimán, a distance of about 23 farsakhs, in two days. The Emperor thus writes that he received the news on the 30th of March, the sixth day after the departure of the messengers; and this circumstance alone, while it applies sufficiently well to Takhti-Soleimán, is at the same time quite sufficient to disprove the possibility of Canzaca being represented by any position so far removed from the Báneh pass as the modern town of Tabriz.

The Emperor on his march from the Báneh pass by Sekiz to Takhti-Soleimán must have passed the immediate vicinity of the Mithraic caves of Kereftú. It is only natural to suppose that he inspected these singular excavations; and the inscription upon the lintel of a doorway in the upper range of caves may possibly be ascribed to his visit upon this occasion. Sir R. K. Porter has given a copy of this inscription in his travels; but though he thought he detected the name of Heraclius, he did not attempt to draw any geographical inference from the fact.* I also annex a copy taken with great care by myself upon the spot; and while I confess myself unable to glean from it anything but perhaps the bare name of the Emperor, I still trust that its restoration, by some experienced archeologist, may throw a further light upon the interesting period to which I refer it:—



Inscription at the caves of Kereftú.

* Colonel Leake, to whom the original copy has been referred, says, "I have not been able to decipher the first line of the inscription of Kereftú beyond its first word, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ—Hercules; but this, together with the second line, which appears to be *Μὴ φθίναξ εἰσελθεῖ, κακὸν ἦ*, shows that the place was under the protection of Hercules, 'that no scoffer might enter, nor any evil.' Possibly the two lines may have been

But in this digression, to which I have been led in tracing the campaigns of Heraclius, I have almost lost sight of the subject of the fire-temple that I was engaged in illustrating. Heraclius, in his first visit to Canzaca, is said to have wholly destroyed the temple and the city; but that this could not have been the case is evident from his own letter, where he writes, that upon his second visit he found the district populous and well supplied; and that, pitching his camp on the immediate outskirts of the town, he took possession of the place, which was "sufficiently commodious, and contained about 3000 houses," in which he directed the soldiers to shelter their horses against the inclemency of the season. These 3000 houses doubtless formed the town, of which the remains are to be seen along the bank of the little stream in the valley below the hill. The fort upon the summit of the hill probably only contained the palace, the temple, and the dependent buildings, and, as I shall hereafter show, was always considered distinct from the city. Heraclius, upon the 8th of April, having concluded a treaty with Siroes, broke up his camp from Canzaca. In the words of Gibbon, "His return to Constantinople was a perpetual triumph; and after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, he peaceably enjoyed the sabbath of his toils." I shall now briefly finish what more I have to say on the subject of the temple. Hamdu-llah Mustaufi gives us one measurement which is of importance to verify the evidence that I have before brought forward in proof of the identity of this temple with that which is usually termed by the Orientals the fire-temple of Azerbījān. "Shehrizūr," he says, "is exactly half way between Modāin (or Ctesiphon) and the great temple of Azerbījān." Now that this is a measurement derived from some ancient authority, and therefore entitled to the more respect, is evident from the line being drawn from Modāin, a city which fell into ruin immediately on the establishment of the Mohammedan power, and was thus devoid of any geographical consequence to the Arabs. Had it been a measurement of the Arabian geographers the line would certainly have been drawn from Baghdād. Shehrizūr, as I have shown in tracing the march of Heraclius, is upon the direct line which connects Ctesiphon with Takhti-Soleimān. The distance given by Idrisi, from Baghdād to Shehrizūr, is 176 miles;* from Ctesiphon the distance would be about 10 or

verses: the form of the character belongs to the fourth or third century before Christ. The Macedonian kings, having derived their origin from Hercules, carried his worship into Asia, where he was identified with the Sun. Strabo informs us that the Macedonian princes resided at Ecbatana. No wonder therefore that an inscription of their time should be found in the vicinity."

* I have also travelled over the greater part of this line myself, and my own estimate corresponds with that of Idrisi. The distance from Soleimāniyeh to Baghdād, by the Seghermeh Pass, is estimated at 60 hours, or 180 miles; and this must have a trifling excess over the route to the same place, from Shehrizūr by Zohāb.

12 miles longer; and the measurement of this half of the line will thus be determined at something under 190 miles. Assuming the city of Shehrizúr to have been situated at Yásín Teppéh, which, from the appearance of the ruins, I cannot doubt, I can then give the estimated distance from that place to Mírideh, from my own road-book, to be 96 miles. From Mírideh, by Sekiz, to Tikán Teppéh, it is reckoned 18 farsakhs, or about 70 miles; and from Tikán Teppéh to the Takht I found to be 20 miles.* These three distances added together give 186 miles for the entire distance from Shehrizúr to Takhti-Soleimán; and as this measurement corresponds exactly with the other half of the line between Shehrizúr and Modáin, I think we may consider the question of the identification of the temple of Azerbíjân, with the great Pyræum of Canzaca or Shíz, as finally and indisputably settled.

I have supposed that the sacred fire was restored to the temple when peace was re-established between the empires of Rome and Persia; but we cannot expect any notice of this event in so confused a period of the Persian annals. Shortly afterwards, when the Arabs invaded Persia, and the progress of their arms was duly registered, with religious care, we might have hoped to have found a notice of Canzaca among the other coeval cities of the empire, of which the capture is circumstantially recorded; but the forces under Somákand Bekír that were destined to attack Azerbíjân travelled by the route of Hamadán and Zenjân; and in the pacification of the province, which almost immediately succeeded, Canzaca, the capital, would seem to have altogether escaped the hostile visit of an Arab army. I have failed, at any rate, to discover a notice of Shíz, or indeed of any other city of Azerbíjân Proper, during this period of history, which affords so much geographical illustration of the other provinces of Persia; † and it is only on this negative evidence, of no other city having arisen to usurp its place, that I conclude Canzaca to have retained its metropolitan character during the first two centuries of Islám, and to have then first yielded to the rising greatness of Marághah, which continued from that period till the invasion of the Moghuls, to be considered as the capital of the province. The Jacobite

* This part of the line is very circuitous: a great detour is first made to the N. to cross the mountains by the pass leading from Bāneh to Mírideh: beyond that village it follows down the defile in the same direction until the mountains are fairly cleared, and then the road makes a sweep to the S., through Sekiz, to avoid the impracticable country upon the direct line along the Jaghatú and Sárúk. It is necessary to explain this; for the map distance from Bāneh to Takhti-Soleimán is only 67 miles.

† Ibn A'thim, who chronicled the Arab wars, in which he was himself a sharer, does not even notice the Azerbíjân campaign. Tabarí gives the best account of it that I have met with; but he has no names in Persian Azerbíjân. I shall hereafter show that a certain Mohammed Ibn 'Abdu-l Wahíd is said to have conquered Azerbíjân, and to have established his provincial court in this very city of Shíz, though to what precise period of history the event refers I am, I confess, in ignorance. See p. 140.

primate of the East is said to have first appointed a Christian bishop of *Azerbījān*, in the year of our Lord 630;* and we also find that Maranan, the metropolitan of Adiabene, at the beginning of the ninth century, withdrew a large part of *Kurdistān* from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of *Azerbījān*,† and annexed it to the bishopric of *Salak*;‡ but where the Christian bishop of *Azerbījān* resided does not appear in any of the Syrian authors quoted by Assemani; and we thus lose the only clue that we could hope for to determine positively the capital of the province during the first ages of Islām.

Ašma'ī, who wrote under *Hārūn al Rashīd* about the time of the Mohammedan re-edification of *Tabrīz*, describes the fire-temple of *Shīz* as remaining uninjured to his day. The travels of *Mosa'er* took place some twenty or thirty years after the era of *Ašma'ī*; and the city and temple at that time still preserved their consequence; and this date (about A.D. 825) is, I believe, the latest that can be assigned in history to the *Pyraeum* of *Azerbījān*. In the succeeding century the Mohammedan religion gradually superseded the fire-worship in all parts of Persia with the exception of *Fārs*, *Sīstān*, and the Caspian provinces; and to this period we must refer the ruin and desolation of the ancient temple; for *Tabarī*, who finished his great history in A.D. 914, emphatically declares that in his day the temple was no longer in existence. The present appearance of the ruined edifice within the fortress of *Takhti-Soleimān*, which I conceive to mark its site, I have already described in the preceding Memoir.

In connexion with the temple, I have now only to consider the name of *Ažerekhsh*, which is applied to it by the anonymous author quoted in *Zakariyā*. *Ažerekhsh*, in the dictionaries, is explained as the ninth day of the month *Ažer*, on which a great festival was held by the ancient Persians; but this signification being unsatisfactory, I turn to another formation of the word *Aderekhsh*, or *Derekhsh*, which, in the *Ferhengi-Reshīdī*,§ is expressly said to be identical with the Arabic orthography of *Ažerekhsh*. *Aderekhsh* is merely explained by "lightning and thunder;" but *Derekhsh*, besides this signification, has the more general meaning assigned to it, of "flashing, gleaming, glittering, &c.," which is employed in Persia at the present day. In the *Ferhengi-Jehāngīrī*, the *Ferhengi-Reshīdī*, and the *Borhāni*-

* Greg. Bar. Heb., quoted by Assemani, tom. ii.; De Syr. Monoph., under the head *Harnua*.

† Assemani, tom. iii. p. 484.

‡ *Salak* was the name applied by the Syrians to the Kurdish mountains between Media and Assyria. See page 73.

§ The MS. which I quote under this name is without a title; but I believe it to be the *Ferhengi-Reshīdī*.

Káti', Derekhsh is also given as the name of a fire-temple in Arminíyeh, founded by the Rás Majúsi, or chief of the Magi, a title that would seem to indicate the prophet Zoroaster, but which, by some extraordinary confusion of Oriental tradition, is supposed by the lexicographers to apply to a certain Jew of Baghdád, also denominated Raso-l Baghal, or the mule's head.* The name of the place which contained the temple of Derekhsh is read by Hyde, Urumíyah;† but in all the lexicons that I have consulted, it appears under the form of Arminíyeh; and that this is the true orthography of the dictionaries is evident, from the Borháni-Káti', where Arminíyeh occurs in its proper alphabetical place, with the same story attached to it, of the temple founded by the Rás-Majúsi. At the same time this word, Arminíyeh, though written nearly in the same way as the Oriental title for Armenia,‡ cannot be supposed to refer to that province; for the Borháni-Káti', in the passage above noticed, describes it as "a well-known city, which contained the fire-temple of Derekhsh;" and adds that "the cities of Arminíyeh and Shíráz, and the fire-temple of Derekhsh, were said to have been founded by the Rás Majúsi."§

The perplexity which will at once be seen attaches to these notices of the temple to Derekhsh might be cleared up, I have no doubt, by a careful reference to all existing authorities. As the works that I could wish for, however, are not here accessible to my research, I can only illustrate the subject conjecturally.

The notices contained in the Persian lexicons relative to the antiquities of the fire-worship may, I think, be uniformly traced to the Ferhengi-Jehangíri, which was published in India at the commencement of the seventeenth century by the Ibn Fekthro-l-dín-Anjú, and the information of which upon that subject, derived from the ignorant Pársi priests of the time, is certainly not entitled to the respect which is usually paid to it. Regarding the seven fire-temples of Persia in particular, the statement of the Ferheng is a mass of fable, the evident fabrication of the Pársís of India; and the erroneous identification of Tabríz with the city of Aderbádegán, which contained the great Pyraum of that name, I attribute to the same spurious source. But still, as few traditions are so false but that some glimmerings of truth may be drawn from them, I thus recognise, in the story of the Armenian

* Can this strange connexion of the Ráso-l Baghal and the fire-temple of Derekhsh have originated in a tradition of Cyrus or Kei Khosrau, whom we know to have been called the Mule?

† See Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 104, where Hyde quotes from the Jehángíri.

‡ The province of Armenia is usually written Arminíyeh, with two long i's.

§ I conclude that the author of the Borháni-Káti' gives this name on the authority of the Ferhengi Jehángíri, under the head Derekhsh, copying the orthography of Arminíyeh, which he found in that passage.

temple of Derekhsh a reference to the subject which I am now discussing. Canzaca was for a long period of time really included in the government of Armenia. The very name, indeed, is an Armenian modification of the true Persian title; and thus arose probably a connexion between Armenia and Shíz, which was perpetuated among the Pársís by the supposed authority of the Zend A'vestá;* but the author of the Ferheng must at the same time have been aware that it could not be the province of Armenia which the chief of the Magi, or Zoroaster, was said to have founded; and he appears therefore to have supposed a town of that name to resolve all difficulties. I cannot doubt, however, but that there are further indications in works to which I have not access, confirming the identity of this temple of Derekhsh with the Azerekhsh of Zakariyá; for Hyde, supposing the name Arminiýeh to refer to Urumíyah, places the temple in the Kurdish mountains; and Richardson even more explicitly describes Derekhsh as the name of a fire-temple in Kurdistán. In the next place, without any hesitation, I restore to its true orthography of Shíz the name, which, under the popular form of Shíráz, is united with that of Arminiýeh and Derekhsh, and ascribed to the prophet Zoroaster. This error I suppose to have arisen from Ibn Fekthro-l-dín himself, whose learning did not enable him to elucidate the obscure name of Shíz, that he must have found in some Persian or Arabic authority, and who accordingly took upon himself to change it to the more familiar orthography of Shíráz. The connexion of the three names, and their foundation being attributed to the chief of the Magi, fully bears me out, I think, in this amendment, particularly when we consider that Shíráz is a modern town, founded since the establishment of Islám; that there are no traditions whatever extant, except this solitary passage, to connect it in any way with Zoroaster, or the origin of the Magian worship; and that, in describing the Persian capital of Shíráz, the Borháni-Kāfi', and the Ferhengi-Jehángirí, do not venture to repeat the tale of the Rás Majúsi, though under the two other heads of Arminiýeh and Derekhsh the story is detailed at length.† I thus consider the statement of the Borháni-Kāfi' as referring directly to the temple of Azerekhsh, in the Armenian city of Shíz; and thus confirming the prevalence of the tradition which ascribed the temple to Zoroaster. When the name of Azerekhsh was first assumed, it is, of course impossible to de-

* The Airyamán of the Zend A'vestá, which is connected with Airyana, as the special object of the care of Ormazd, is uniformly rendered in the Pehlevi by Yrmán, and supposed by the Pársi priests to refer to Armenia. See page 138, where I endeavour to attach these names to the ancient title of the province of Azerbiján.

† In the Borháni-Kāfi', under both heads in the Jehángirí and Reshidi, only under that of Derekhsh.

cide. It may have been derived either from the eternal gleaming of the fire, or from the lightning-flash that is supposed to have first kindled the flame, and the name, no doubt, continued to attach to the temple until the edifice was finally ruined.

Having now concluded the evidence which, in illustrating the subject of the fire-temple of *Azerbājān*, helps to establish the identity of *Canzaca* and *Shíz*, I should, properly, pursue the history of the Sasanian capital in its ascending series to the Roman ages; but before I quit the Oriental part of the inquiry, and turn back once more to the classics, I am anxious to give some extracts that throw a further light upon the application to the city of the territorial title of *Azerbājān*, and also to make a few remarks upon the pretended verification of Saint Martin, which would place this city of *Canzaca* in the modern position of *Tabríz*.

I commence, then, with *Zakariyá*, whose valuable extract regarding the city of *Shíz* has already been of so much assistance. In his other work, entitled the '*Ajábo-l Makhluqát*, he writes, under the head of *Nehri Azerbājān*, that, "according to *Abúl Kasamo-l Jaihání*,* author of the *Mesalik wal Memálíko-sh Sherkiyeh*, there is a river in *Azerbājān*, of which the waters congeal into hard stones of various sizes, and the author," he adds, "of the *Tohfeto-l Gheráib* writes of the same river of *Azerbājān*, that the water, as it flows forth, becomes solid stone, and forms smooth and polished rocks." There can be no doubt, I suppose, that this description applies to the *Sárúk*, and its title of the river of *Azerbājān* is therefore somewhat curious. Another Persian manuscript in my possession, the anonymous author of which usually follows *Zakariyá*, has a longer description of the same river, and clearly marks the allusion to the *Jaghatú* and its tributary the *Sárúk*. "The river of *Azerbājān*," it is stated, "rises in the mountains of the same name, and empties itself into the sea of *Tezúch*.† The waters are pleasant to the taste. In several places canals are derived from the river to irrigate the neighbouring lands, and these water-courses, as they intersect the country, presently congeal into a fine stone which they call marble, and appear like smooth polished rocks."

All that I propose from these extracts is to show that the river which rises at *Takhti Soleimán* was sometimes called the *Nahr-Azerbājān*, and to infer that, as the name of the *Sárúk* was derived from the Moghul appellation which was given to that city, so

* This is the famous *Jaihání* whom I so often quote, and whose work I believe to have been translated by Sir W. Ouseley, under the title of "*Ibn Haúkal's Geography*." In my MS. *Ishkáló-l 'A'lem* his name is written *Abú-l Kásim* instead of *Abú-l Kásam*, which is the orthography uniformly employed by *Zakariyá* in his quotations.

† The lake of *Urumiyah*, so called from the village of *Tezúchat*, its northern extremity. The name is sometimes written *Tezúj*.

also the Nahri-Azerbájján, in all probability, owed its name to a more ancient designation of the same place; but whether the city of Azerbájján received its title direct from the province and imparted it to the temple, or the temple first assumed the name and then gave it to the city, is, I think, a matter of very little consequence.

The author of the *Ferhengi Jehángírí* states explicitly that the name of Aderbádagán, the Pársí formation of the Azerbájján, was applied indifferently to the province, the city, and the temple; and I think, that in the course of my inquiry I have produced abundance of evidence to verify his statement. His reference, however, of this city and temple to the modern emplacement of Tabriz, I directly pronounce to be altogether inadmissible; and had not the identification happened to coincide with the results of Saint Martin's Armenian researches, I should scarcely have thought that it required to be disproved. It is an old saying, that the establishment of truth involves the refutation of error; and thus every argument that I have brought forward in favour of the verification of the Sasanian Canzaca, at the ruins of the Takhti Soleimán, applies with equal force against the possibility of that city being represented by the modern Tabriz; but still, as the high place which Saint Martin deservedly holds among the Orientalists of Europe demands more than a mere negative refutation of his authority, I shall briefly consider the grounds upon which his opinion was formed, and endeavour either to explain or disprove them.

Saint Martin asserts that the city of Tabriz is frequently mentioned in the Armenian histories under the title of Kandsag, and that, to distinguish it from another city of the same name to the north of the Arras, it was named particularly Kandsag Shahasdan, the Royal Kandsag, and Kandsag Aderbadagan, or Kandsag of Azerbájján.* Upon so interesting a point of comparative geography it would have been desirable that he should have quoted all his authorities. Not having done this, however, I can only follow him in the three solitary notices of Kandsag, which appear in his work on Armenia. The first of these is in the geography which bears the name of Moses of Chorene, but which is now generally assigned to a writer of the ninth century. It is there merely said that Media contains many cities, among which is Kandsag Shahasdan,† a statement from which nothing whatever is to be derived as to the identification of Kandsag with Tabriz or any other place.

Another notice occurs in the geography of Vartan, which was written about the beginning of the fourteenth century, to illus-

* Saint Martin's *Armenia*, tom. i. p. 129.

† Tom. ii. p. 371.

trate the more ancient work that I have before spoken of; and here, certainly, there would appear some grounds for Saint Martin's identification. "Adrabadagan," it is stated, "and Kandsag Shahasdan form the country of Tavrezh (or Tabríz):" and again, Heraclius is said to have regained the true cross from the Persians, which had been guarded for six years at Tabríz,* and to have carried it from thence to Constantinople; but still this authority is anything but conclusive. Kandsag Shahasdan is said to have been the country of Tabríz, not the city of that name; and perhaps the same explanation may be given of the detention of the true cross, and of the march of Heraclius from Tabríz to Constantinople. Again, the foundation of the city of Tabríz is ascribed in the same work of Vartan to an epoch which will not at all apply to the well-established antiquity of Gaza or Canzaca; and lastly, even if the geography of Vartan did distinctly state the identity of Kandsag and Tabríz, surely no great weight can be attached to a writer whose ignorance led him to confound the passes of Dariyel and Derbend, to identify Susa and Isfahán, to transport a province from the eastern extremity of Armenia to the position of Tiflis, to suppose that Sardanapalus was defeated by Arbaces at Ecbatana, and to commit a multitude of similar errors, historical and geographical, which it has required all the skill and learning of his editor to rectify and explain.

The third notice of Kandsag occurs in the anonymous itinerary that is translated by Saint Martin,† conducting from the Armenian capital of Tovin to all the great cities of the East. Here Kandsag Shahasdan is placed between Nakhchuván or Nakhshiván and Dispon or Ctesiphon, at the distance of 120 miles from the former and 370 from the latter; and again, Kandsag is said to be 100 miles distant from Niniveh.

By determining the age of this itinerary we can alone distinguish whether the name Kandsag applies to Shíz or to Tabríz; for the measurements, faulty in the extreme, suit one position equally as well as the other. Thus if the distance of 120 miles from Nakhshiván appears to indicate Tabríz, the measurement of 370 miles between Kandsag and Ctesiphon applies with equal accuracy to Shíz,‡ and the distance from Niniveh will require to be more than doubled before it will suit either one position or the other. These are the only points of evidence, as far as I can follow Saint Martin, upon which he has grounded his opinion of the identity of Canzaca and Tabríz. They are, I think it will be admitted, inconclusive enough, and altogether powerless against my arguments in favour of Takhti-Soleimán. I believe, how-

* Tom. ii. pp. 423-425.

† Tom. ii. p. 396.

‡ See p. 37, where I have calculated the distance from Modáin to Takhti-Soleimán at 372 miles. From Modáin to Tabríz must be above 500 miles.

ever, that, putting aside the true identification, I can show further reasons for the impossibility of Canzaca being represented by Tabríz.

Tabríz, the Armenian Tavrezh, was supposed, by the tradition of the country, to have been founded by Khosrau, the father of the great Tiridates, in commemoration of his successful foray into Persia to avenge upon Ardeshr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the murder of his relative Ardován.* The name signifies, in Armenian, revenge, and under this title the place is uniformly mentioned in the history of Faustus of Byzantium,† an author who wrote at the end of the fourth century of Christ, when we know, from the contemporary Greeks and Latins, that the capital of Azerbījān was called Canzaca. Perhaps it may be thought that Faustus of Byzantium, in employing the exact orthography of Tavrezh, which signifies revenge, confirms the tradition relative to the foundation of the city by Khosrau; and as he lived only a century and a half after that era, this would be determinative against the antiquity of the site; but it is, on the other hand, possible that the pretended etymology may have been a fabrication of aftertimes, and I do not therefore lay any stress on his authority, further than as it seems to prove that, in that early age, when the two towns of Kandsag and Tabríz were both in existence, the Armenian historians clearly distinguished between them. According to all the Persian and Arabic geographers Tabríz was founded by Zobeideh, the wife of Hárúnu-l Rashíd, in the second century of Islám;‡ and as the Orientals are most particular in defining the antiquity of their cities, and rarely or ever ascribe an ancient site to a more recent era than it can really claim, I consider the prevalence of this opinion as quite destructive of the possibility of Tabríz representing the Median capital. The Canzaca of the Byzantines, which Heraclius left in A.D. 629, the metropolis of Azerbījān, must necessarily have retained its metropolitan character in A.D. 642, when the Arabs invaded the province; and it is impossible to understand how, if at that time Tabríz, under its own proper title, had really represented this city, the name which rose afterwards to such celebrity in the East should not be found in the historical records of the campaign. With Shíz the case was different; the city did not lie upon the line of march, and thus escaped the observation of the contemporary annalists; and when

* See Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 130, and tom. ii. p. 423; also Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 155.

† He was an Armenian native of Byzantium, and is believed to have written his original history in Greek, of which the Armenian version only is now extant. For his notices of Tavrezh, see Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 130, note 1.

‡ A.D. 791. The original town of the Arsacidan Khosrau had been destroyed, I conceive, in the desolating wars which the Sasanian monarchs waged against Armenia.

in after ages the spirit of inquiry attracted the notice of the literary Arabs to its interesting site, it had mouldered too long in ruin to enable them to reveal its ancient glory. Marághah is said to have been founded by Merwán, the general of the Khaliph Hisham,* in his expedition against Derbend about A.D. 740, and as it gradually rose into consequence, Canzaca must have declined before it. Between this period and the end of the eighth century I place the era of the geography ascribed to Moses of Chorene, which still names Kandsag Shahasdan as the chief city of Azerbáján. Tabríz must have been then a petty town, for it had not yet been re-edified by Zobeïdeh. It was familiar, however, to the Armenians under its own proper title, and if the Armenian geographer had intended to allude to it, I can see no reason for his employing a name different from that which had been used by Faustus of Byzantium. Tabríz was rebuilt about the close of the eighth century, but it long continued of too unimportant a character to attract the notice of the historians and geographers. Thus neither Aşma'î, nor Mosa'er, nor Tabarî, nor even Meş'údí, who all mention Shíz as the great city of Azerbáján, make any allusion to Tabríz. In the tenth century it appears first to have risen to the consideration of a town, secondary, however, to the capital Marághah. Ibn Haukel, according to Abúl Feda, says, that in his time (about A.D. 990) Tabríz was nearly equal in size to Khói; and Jeihání, who wrote shortly afterwards, places it in the same class with Deh Khwárkh, Deh Kherkán, Khói, Selmás, and Merend.† In the succeeding century it was destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt. It is mentioned in the campaigns of Toghrul Beg, both by the Greeks and Orientals,‡ and from that period it continued to rise in consequence, until, in the thirteenth century, Holákú made it, for the first time, the seat of the empire. After it became the metropolis of the Moghul sovereigns, the Armenians attached to it the epithet of Shahasdan or Royal.§ in the same way as they had formerly applied the title to Kandsag; and from this circumstance, as well as from its having succeeded to the metropolitan character of the ancient city, it is not impossible that the ignorant Armenians, who were quite unable to penetrate the gloom in which the fate of the real Canzaca was involved, adopted a belief in their identity. I have only further to remark that there is not a single vestige of antiquity at Tabríz which can be assigned to

* See Abúl Fedá under the head Marághah.

† Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels in Persia*, vol. iii. p. 412) has remarked many of these circumstances, which seem to disprove the antiquity of Tabríz, but he does not venture to offer any decided opinion on the subject.

‡ See Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 770, and all the Oriental accounts of the Seljukian invasion of Armenia.

§ See Saint Martin, tom. ii. pp. 6-153.

any higher date than that of the Moghul sovereigns, and that, with the exception of the solitary notice in the *Ferhengi-Jehán-gírí*, which I trace to the very doubtful authority of the Median *Pársis*, I have never met with a single passage in Oriental works, prolific as they usually are in tales and legends of the olden time, that would pretend to include *Tabríz* among the ancient cities of the empire. All this appears to me quite conclusive against the possible identity of *Canzaca* and *Tabríz*; and when the evidence which I have brought forward in favour of *Shíz* is further taken into account, I believe the most prejudiced theorist will feel himself obliged to abandon the position of Saint Martin.

Having now, as I hope, satisfactorily verified the position of the Arabian *Shíz*, at the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimán*, and having demonstrated the identity of that city with the Sasanian capital of *Canzaca*, I shall endeavour to trace up the fortunes of the city into an age less accessible to direct inquiry.

The notice of Procopius describes the city as the capital of *Azerbáján*, in the middle of the sixth century. Two centuries earlier, at the time of the invasion of Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus also names *Canzaca* as one of the most considerable cities of *Media*.* We must next ascend to the time of the Armenian *Tiridates*, in about A.D. 297.

This monarch, the first Christian king of Armenia, was engaged in a long and arduous war with *Narses* of Persia, the seventh king of the Sasanian line.† Expelled from his country, he took refuge in the court of the emperors, and he steadfastly adhered to their alliance throughout the war which soon followed between *Narses* and *Diocletian*. When the Roman arms, accordingly, compelled the Persian monarch to purchase a disgraceful peace by the cession of many large and fruitful provinces, the fidelity of *Tiridates* was rewarded by the annexation of the important country of *Atropatene* to his paternal kingdom of Armenia.

Peter the Patrician, who records the negotiation of the treaty, states, that the limits of Armenia were extended as far as the fortress of *Sintha*, in *Media*,‡ by which I understand that *Azerbáján Proper*, terminating in the natural boundary of the Kurdish mountains, was alone severed from the dominion of Persia, the name of *Sintha* being preserved in the title of *Síná*, which applies to these mountains in the middle ages; and which is now further corrupted to the modern pronunciation of *Sehnah*. I have now to quote the most important authority that we possess for the establishment of a connexion between *Canzaca* and the Median

* Lib. xxiii. cap. 6.

† For this period of history see the 13th chapter of *Gibbon*.

‡ In the *Excerpta Legationum*, p. 30.

Ecbatana. Moses, of Chorene, who wrote his Armenian history about A.D. 445, states, that Tiridates, visiting his newly-acquired territory of *Azerbījān*, “repaired the fortifications of the place, which was named the second Ecbatana, or the seven-walled city, and leaving there his own officers, returned into Armenia.”* This allusion can only refer to the capital of the province, a place which, sixty-five years after the visit of the Armenian monarch, Ammianus names *Gazaca*; and which, from the evidence of Stephen of Byzantium, who quotes two writers of the second century, it is evident also possessed that name long anterior to the age of Tiridates. We have thus direct testimony that the city, which from the second to the fourth century was known in the country by the vernacular title of *Kandsag*, or *Canzaca*, sometimes during that period assumed its more ancient appellation of the second Ecbatana, or the seven-walled city; and, I believe, also, that the identity of name, and the very marked and peculiar epithet of “the seven-walled,” which it is quite impossible to suppose could have belonged to two different cities, are sufficient to warrant my connecting the notices of Moses of Chorene and Herodotus; and asserting, that their exact coincidence of name, description, and geographical indication, can only be explained by a reference to the same place.

Ascending from the time of Tiridates, at an interval of about 70 years, we come to the age of *Ardešhīr Bābegān*, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty; who, as I have already shown, from George of Pisidia, must have re-edified the city of *Canzaca*. The fortifications which he built “in a strong place, and after the fashion of a lofty tower,” I conclude to have been ruined in the rapid succession of devastating wars between Persia and Armenia, which occurred during the following reigns; they were repaired by Tiridates, and are doubtless the same massive walls which are still to be seen in their ruin encircling the mount of *Takhti-Soleimān*. The epithet of the seven-walled city I believe to have been retained from the fabulous ages of antiquity, as I shall explain in my remarks upon Herodotus, and to have had no connexion whatever with the fortifications of *Ardešhīr* and Tiridates; which, as far as I have been able to form an opinion, never exceeded one single line of defence. I have found no corroboration of George of Pisidia, in Oriental history; indeed, *Ibn-i Athīr* is the only author that I know, who describes the campaigns of *Ardešhīr*, in Armenia, and *Azerbījān*;† and his account is altogether devoid of historical or geographical detail.

I have now reached the era of the Parthian empire, when the

* Lib. ii. c. 84.

† *Tabarī*, *Ibn Jauzī* and others, mention the name of *Azerbījān*, but without any detail whatever, and the Armenian accounts are confined to their own country.

province of Media Atropatene, or Media alone, as it is usually called by the contemporary historians of Rome (the ancient and general title having been retained only by this particular division of the province), formed a distinct and powerful kingdom; sometimes bestowed by the Parthian monarch on his nearest relative, as the first place of importance under him; but more frequently governed by its own hereditary line of sovereigns, descended from Atropates the Satrap, whose interests as often led them to oppose as to support the lord paramount of the feudal empire.* All the Greek and Latin accounts of this period, as far as they regard the capital of Media Atropatene, require the mutual illustration of each other; and I shall make no apology, therefore, for considering them as a distinct body of evidence, and collating their various statements, without any reference to the chronological order of the authorities.

I consider, then, that the various names of Phraata, Praaspa, Vera, Gaza, and Gazaca, that occur during this period of history, refer to one and the same city; which city, as the capital of the province, I am certainly justified in assuming to be the same that I have already traced up under the title of Gazaca, to an age immediately succeeding the destruction of the Parthian empire. The proof of both of these points will appear from a comparison of the authorities. In the account of Antony's famous expedition into Media Atropatene, Plutarch and Appian both name the city Phraata.† It is described by the former as "the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children." Dion Cassius, in his narrative of the same eventful war, gives it the title of Praaspa; he calls it the capital of the Medes, and notices the strong walls with which it was surrounded. Strabo again writes,‡ "The summer residence of the kings of Media Atropatene is at Gaza, a city situated in a plain, and in a strong fort, named Vera, which was besieged by Marc Antony in his Parthian war. It is 2400 stadia distant from the Araxes, "the river which separates Atropatene from Armenia." A doubt has been raised as to whether Strabo alludes in this passage to one or two places under the names of Gaza and Vera;§ but the whole

* Tac. Ann. lib. xv., c. 2, 31.

† Throughout this inquiry. See Plutarch's Life of Antony; Dion Cassius, lib. xlix., c. 25-31; Appian., pp. 158-168; and Florus, lib. iv., c. 10.

‡ Lib. xi., c. 18.

§ Almost all modern geographers have supposed a distinction; D'Anville places Gaza at Tabriz; and Vera between Sulṭāniyeh and Kazvīn.—Anc. Geog., tom. ii., p. 234. Mons. Barbié de Bocage (Exam. Crit. des Hist. D'Alex., p. 817) approves of the identification of Gaza with Tabriz; and Rennell, in his map prefixed to the retreat of the 10,000, follows the authority of D'Anville regarding the emplacement of Phraata. Mr. Williams (Ancient Asia, p. 53) places Vera and Phraata at Sulṭāniyeh and Abher supposes most strangely that Gaza merely signifies a treasury, and has no reference to the proper name of the city.

construction of the sentence appears to me most obviously to refer to a single city. The summer residence of the kings could be but in one place; and the measurement from the Araxes, also, most evidently indicates this one single metropolis. I may farther remark, that the place which Antony attacked is stated positively to have been the capital of the province, a description that we know can only apply to Gaza or Canzaca, though, on the supposition of Strabo's alluding to two different cities, the scene of contest will be represented by Vera:* and again, it is to be observed, that Pliny, who was of course fully aware of the particulars of the Triumvir's disastrous retreat, still only mentions the name of Gaza as the chief city of Media Atropatene.† I do not think, therefore, it can be considered of any weight against the argument, either that Ptolemy, who, as he consulted different itineraries, may be shown in every page to have repeated his notice of the same place, and not unfrequently even under the same name, should be thus supposed to assign different emplacements, in his Median tables, to the two cities of Gazaca and Pharaspa,‡ or that Stephen of Byzantium, who also sought for a diversity of names in all available authorities, should, in the same way, pretend to distinguish between the three cities of Gazaca, Praaspa, and Phraata. I now propose to show the application of all these accounts to the position of Takhti-Soleimán. The extraordinary strength of the place is apparent from the accounts of Antony's campaign. The Parthian and Median forces, in perfect confidence of its impregnability, did not, at first, attempt to relieve the fortress: they even allowed the Romans to erect a mound against the wall, unmolested, while they proceeded by another route to attack the division which was coming up under the command of Statianus; and Phraata fully justified their confidence in its strength, by successfully resisting every effort that was made to reduce it. The natural strength of a citadel on the summit of a mound, like that of Takhti-Soleimán, will explain this rare triumph of barbarian firmness over the combined exertions of Roman courage, discipline, and science.§ But the memorable retreat of Antony into Armenia, when he was compelled to raise the siege of Phraata, described by Plutarch with great topographical minuteness, affords far more determinate grounds for illustrating the position of the city. From Phraata there were

* The distinction of Strabo is evidently merely between the city of Gaza, in the plain, and the acropolis of Vera, upon the hill commanding it, against which latter place, of course, the attack of Antony was directed.

† Lib. vi., cap. xvi.

‡ I say "*supposed*," for it is very doubtful whether the Gazaca of Ptolemy is genuine.

§ The open city of Gaza, in the plain, I conclude to have been occupied by the Romans without opposition

two routes conducting into Armenia; the one a high road through a plain and open country to the left, which was that in all probability that was followed by Antony in his advance; the other by a more direct line, across the mountains to the right.

At Takhti-Soleimán I inquired of the Afshár chief how he would march, if suddenly ordered to Tabríz? "If I had troops," he said, "I should certainly take the high road to the left, and travel by the open line of Şa'in Kal'eh, the valley of the Jaghatú and the Miyándáb plain, and so on by the shores of the lake to Tabríz; but the line we generally follow conducts directly across the hills to the right, leaving Marághah at some distance on our left hand, and skirting Sehend till we descend upon the Tabríz plain." A glance at the map will explain these two roads most clearly and satisfactorily; and I cannot doubt but that it was along this mountain line that the Mardian guide conducted the troops of Antony. Upon the third day's march the Romans came to a valley where the Parthians had broken down the banks of a river and flooded the country, to oppose their progress. I learnt that, at the distance of about 8 farsakhs from Takhti-Soleimán, on the hill road, there actually was such a river, the main branch of the Kárengú, the waters of which were turned off during the spring to irrigate the little valley in which it flowed. The Romans now found themselves to be pursued by the enemy; and as on this and the three succeeding days they marched in square, and were exposed to constant attacks, they could have made no very rapid progress. The country appears to have been hilly, but still not so rugged but that the cavalry were able to act and drive in the Parthian horse, when they attempted to press upon the legions; and the account I received of this part of the line skirting the district of A'járá, exactly answers the description. On the seventh day of the retreat, when the army had probably marched about 70 miles, occurred the memorable engagement of Gallus, in which the Romans lost 3000 killed, and 5000 wounded. I have no means, of course, of verifying the exact field of battle, but it must have been in the hills to the E. of the Miyándáb plain.

After this followed the most trying part of the retreat. The Parthians, elated with their victory, kept up an incessant attack, while the Romans, at every onset, were obliged to form the testudo with their shields to protect themselves from the shafts of the enemy. The greatest distress prevailed among the troops; provisions were so scarce, that a loaf of barley sold for its weight of silver; and the soldiers found themselves compelled to eat the poisonous herbs and grasses of the country. The progress was thus necessarily slow; and 80 miles being, perhaps, as much as can reasonably be allowed for the distance traversed by the Romans under such circumstances, during the succeeding eleven

marches, I conduct the army, by this measurement, from the field of battle into the district of Mihrán-rúd, on the northern face of Sehend. The country appears to have been still mountainous, and yielding but little corn; but, as there was no distress on account of water, I conclude the streams to have been abundant; and these indications of general character are fully answered by the line along the eastern skirts of the great Sehend range, conducting by Teppéh-Teppéh and Kırk-Bólák,* to the district of Mihrán-rúd. There, on the 19th day of the retreat, there was a halt, to consult on the farther prosecution of the route. A range of lofty hills appeared in front, at the foot of which there was a spacious plain, and Antony believing that the Parthians had abandoned the pursuit, was anxious to descend into the open country. He was, however, warned that the enemy were in ambuscade below the hills, and that, if he ventured into the plain, he must expect the fate of Crassus. The road along the skirts of the mountains, he was told by the Mardian guide, was rugged and devoid of water, but it was his only safety. The camp was accordingly struck at sunset, and the troops, conveying their water with them, made a forced march of 30 miles † along the rugged sides of the mountains, pursued by the enemy, and in the morning descended to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but so salt that it could not be drank with safety. Any one familiar with the country will at once recognise the sterile range of mountains to the eastward of Tabríz, and the great plain stretching away from its base to the shores of the lake, and will see that the Romans, filling their helmets and water-vessels at the Bosmich river, must during the night have followed along the rugged sides of the hills, beneath the 'Aini-'Alí, till, after a toilsome march, they descended, at morning, to the salt stream of the Ají, the only river of this nature, I believe, in all Azerbáján. They were told that there was a fresh-water stream at no great distance; and, accordingly, while it was yet day, they were again upon the march; but the night that followed was more dreadful than can be well conceived—all control and discipline were at an end—the soldiers, maddened with their thirst, committed the most horrible disorders—and Antony prepared for suicide, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. At length, however, the army reached the fresh-water stream, which I conclude to be the little river of Sálíyán, and the dangers of the march were over.‡ The Parthians maintained the pursuit no

* At "the forty fountains."

† This is probably an exaggeration; in my calculation I allow for this march about 25 British miles.

‡ The distance from the Ají to the Sálíyán river is about 15 miles, which I think amply sufficient for the night march of the Romans in their most weary and distressed condition.

further than this point; and the Romans, in six easy marches, traversed the remaining distance of 80 miles, which must have intervened, between the Sáliyán river and the Arrás, supposing the passage to have taken place at the thoroughfare of the Julfeh ferry. The distance which, from this illustration of the route, I suppose the Romans to have traversed in their retreat of twenty-seven days from Phraata to the Araxes, will be about 270 miles. I have no means of determining the precise measurement of the mountain line from Takhti-Soleimán to Tabríz, but it must be as near 170 miles as possible.

The Afshárs estimated the high road, by Şa'in Kal'eh, to be 50 farsakhs, or 200 miles; and the short cut across the hills they judged to be between 40 and 45 farsakhs, or between 160 and 180 miles.* I therefore take 170 as the mean, and adding to it the 100 miles which intervened between Tabríz and the Arrás, I find the whole distance to assimilate with the 270 miles, which, merely judging from the circumstances of the march, would seem to be a fair estimate for the twenty-seven days of the retreat, all the remarkable topographical features which occur upon the line corresponding at the same time, with singular accuracy, to the descriptive character of the country, that was copied by Plutarch from the narrative of an eye-witness: but there are other and more accurate means for verifying this distance than those which I have yet employed. Strabo, upon the authority of Dellius, an officer who commanded a division of the army, on this very occasion of Antony's retreat, determines the distance from Gaza to the Araxes, as it was travelled by the Romans, to be 2400 stadia; and to show that he employs in this passage the Olympic stadium, I may instance the Fragment of Livy, in which the same measurement is given at 300 Roman miles, equivalent, as near as possible, to 280 British miles.† Relying on the estimated distance of the line, in farsakhs, I really cannot pretend to fix the exact measurement within 10 miles, either more or less, nor, indeed, do I conceive that the Roman calculation is entitled to any greater degree of dependence upon its minute accuracy. The best means that I have of judging, give me an approximate valuation of 270 British miles; and this I regard as quite near enough the estimate of 300 Roman miles, to answer all the purposes of geographical illustration.

I must now consider the evidence of Pliny. Mr. Williams, in his ingenious, though, I believe, erroneous argument on the iden-

* Among the Turks of Azerbáján, the farsakh is fully equal to 4 British miles; but in all other parts of the country $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles will be found nearer the value.

† Strabo, lib. xi., c. 18; and Livy, Fragment. I conceive that Livy, Strabo, and Plutarch all followed the same authority of Dellius in their notices of Antony's retreat.

tity of Isfahán with the Ecbatana of Media Magna, supposes that Pliny received the greater part of his information on the internal geography of Persia, from Tiridates, the Parthian king of Armenia, who visited Rome during the reign of Nero;* but as this visit occurred 40 years before the age of Pliny, I think the source of information may well be doubted. At any rate, from where-soever the intelligence was drawn, there is so much confusion and inaccuracy in all Pliny's Persian geography, that it will rarely admit of verification. Thus, in reference to the present subject he says, that "Gaza, the chief city of Atropatene, is 450 miles distant from Artaxata, and measures the same from Ecbatana of Media."† The Artaxata of Hannibal, which is doubtless that alluded to by Pliny, was situated on the Arrás, in the modern district of Mákú; and the measurement of a point from that city, on the direct line to Hamadán, the real representative of the Ecbatana of the greater Media, which shall be equidistant from both places, will conduct us to the plain of Miyándáb, where the ruins of Leilán may be supposed to suit the indication;‡ but there are several circumstances which I shall presently detail, that appear to me conclusive against the possibility of Leilán representing Gaza; and even to make the position accord with the evidence of Pliny, the only single authority in its favour, it will be necessary to suppose that he mistook the true purport of the geographical information, and assigned to the half interval between Artaxata and Gaza the measurement that should, in reality, have been applied to the entire distance between Artaxata and Ecbatana. I believe, however, there is an equally plausible way of explaining Pliny, without affecting the already established identity of Gaza and Takhti-Soleimán. Pliny, in the measurement of 380 Roman miles from Susa to Ecbatana, across Mount Charban, would seem to have been really aware of the true position of the Median capital;§ but, in the passage which immediately succeeds the notice of Gaza, and which, it is evident, can only refer to the same Ecbatana of the Medes that is before stated to be equidistant with Artaxata from Gaza, the Latin author most clearly and explicitly betrays, that by this name of Ecbatana, he intends to denote the Macedonian city of Europus. "Ecbatana," he says, "the capital of Media, was founded by King Seleucus; it is 750 miles distant from the great Seleucia, and 20 from the Caspian gates."||

* Anc. Asia, p. 51.

† Lib. vi. cap. 16, edit. Hardouin.

‡ This is the supposition of the German geographer, Reichard: he proposes, however, to follow the route to Hamadán, by Zenján, and to look for Gaza at the Kizil Uzen.

§ Lib. vi. cap. 31, edit. Hardouin.

|| Lib. vi. cap. 17, edit. Hardouin.

Without inquiring into the reason of this singular application of the name of Ecbatana to the city of Rhages, which, re-edified by Seleucus, assumed the Grecian title of Europus, it is sufficient for my present purpose to verify the measurement that is drawn from it. Europus, near the site of the ancient Rhages, was situated in the position of the modern town of Verámin, and a line from hence to Takhti-Soleimán, by Teherán, Kazvín, and Zenján, will measure, as nearly as I can calculate, 325 British miles. From Takhti-Soleimán, along the high road to Tabríz, and so on to the Julfeh ferry, measures, as I have already shown, about 300 miles. There is no direct road, I believe, now travelled from Tabríz to the ruins of Artaxata, at the embouchure of the Mákú river ;* but the deviation to the left will necessarily cause an excess of 20 or 30 miles, over the distance to the Julfeh ferry; and we thus obtain the same measurement of about 325 miles for the line to Artaxata from Takhti-Soleimán, that I have shown to apply to the road distance between that place and Pliny's Ecbatana. The comparative measurement being thus so satisfactorily verified, there is no great object, I believe, in seeking to restore the corrupted numbers of the manuscript of Pliny; but I may, at the same time, suggest, that if we suppose ccccl. to have been an error of some ancient copyist, for ccccd, the positive determination of distance will apply, with the same minute correctness, as the comparative, and thus establish, in one instance at any rate, the accuracy of the Latin geographer.

I have spoken of the possible identity of Leilán and Gaza, for which the appearance of the ruins, and, perhaps, the authority of Pliny, seem to have found some advocates. The reasons that I consider to be determinative against it are briefly these: Gaza is mentioned as the summer residence of the Median kings, but Leilán, in the Miyándáb plain, is positively one of the very hottest spots in all Azerbáján. In Antony's retreat, the distance will not in any way coincide, nor is there any shorter road from Leilán to the Arrás, than along the borders of the lake of Urumíyah, a natural feature of so marked and peculiar a character, that it is impossible to suppose it could have been overlooked in the narrative of the expedition, had it been seen upon the line of march. Again, Leilán is perfectly well known in Oriental geography. It is described in the 14th century, by Hamdu-llah, as "a small town in the district of Marághah, surrounded with gardens, and producing corn, cotton, grapes, and excellent fruit, and watered by the river Jaghatú;" and in no author have I ever met with an

* Col. Monteith has, I believe, the credit of first fixing the position of the ancient Artaxata. The ruins of Ardashár, near Eriván, which have been so often assigned to the Armenian capital, mark the site of the second Artaxata, a city that rose into power after the destruction of Hannibal's Artaxata by Corbulo.

allusion to it in ancient times. I fear, then, that to the ruins of the fort, which certainly are calculated to attract attention from their appearance, can be assigned no earlier date than that of their Moghul sovereigns, and that its identification with Canzaca, which disfigures Colonel Monteith's map of *Azerbáján*, must be expunged from the future editions.*

Ptolemy next presents himself; and I confess I enter on his examination with very little pleasure or confidence. From the evidence which he gives of the comparative position of places in relation to each other, he sometimes may afford useful hints to corroborate the statements of other authors; but I doubt whether a geographical identification of any consequence in the East was ever discovered by the mere indication of his tables, or whether any one at the present day would be content to build an argument on so very doubtful an authority. I do not propose, therefore, to derive any support from his testimony: if I can give a reasonable explanation of his errors, I shall be more than satisfied.

The first difficulty which I meet with is the distinction of two cities of *Gazaca*, and *Pharaspá* with the assignments of geographical positions, that remove them from each other upon the map almost as far as the distance between *Tabríz* and *Teherán*. *Gazaca* is placed in lat. $41^{\circ} 10'$, and long. $81^{\circ} 15'$; and *Pharaspá* in lat. $40^{\circ} 30'$, and long. $85^{\circ} 30'$.† The discrepancy of these positions alone would seem to prove that either the numbers are corrupted, or that two different places must be alluded to; and I believe I can show reasons for placing Ptolemy's *Gazaca* altogether out of the field of inquiry. In many of the manuscripts this name does not occur at all, the word being written *Azaga*. It is placed in the extreme north of *Media*, within a degree and a half of the *Araxes*, which could not have been the case, I think, had Ptolemy intended to represent the city; that, he must have been well aware, was determined by the retreat of *Antony* to be nearly 300 Roman miles S. of the river. The longitude, also, when viewed comparatively with the great natural features in the vicinity, bears the same evidence of distinction. *Azaga* is placed more than a degree to the W. of the *Median lake*.‡ It is even beyond the great mountain-barrier of *Zagros*, and above five de-

* I must also notice another curious illustration of comparative geography in this map. At *Kal'eh Zohák*, near *Sereskend*, are placed the ruins of *Atropatene*. Now, from whence this name is drawn I am at a loss to guess. *Procopius* is the only single author among the classics who applies the provincial title to the capital, and in his history it is named *Ardabigan*, which there can be no question is identical with the *Canzaca* of other authors. I must further remark, that I passed a day minutely examining the ruins of *Kal'eh Zohák*, and that I was able to satisfy myself that no city whatever ever could have existed there. The ruins are those of a strong *Sassanian* fortress, such as are to be met with in all parts of *Persia*.

† *Ptol.*, lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ The Lake of *Urumiyah*.

grees from the Amardus or Kizil Uzen. It is therefore certain that the Alexandrian geographer, Agathodæmon, who constructed maps to illustrate the tables of Ptolemy, must have followed some other authority in placing Gazaca near the river Amardus, in the region of the Margasii;* and if the name of that people may be recognised in the modern title of Marághah, his evidence will thus rather strengthen the arguments in favour of Takhti-Soleiman than add any weight to the errors and confusion of Ptolemy.

I assume, then, that the position of Pharaspa is the only point that requires to be examined; and even this will be found sufficiently difficult. From some cause, which is not duly explained, there is a greater tendency to exaggeration in Ptolemy's latitudinal measurements of Western Persia than in those of any of the contiguous countries; and this exaggeration in the latitude of the Albanian gates, the northernmost limit of Western Persia, will be found to reach a maximum of five degrees, the gates being placed on the parallel of 47° , while the true latitude is 42° . Now if any general principle whatever can be employed for the restoration of Ptolemy's distorted measurements to their true equivalents, it is evident that it can only be the assumption of his error of excess being equally distributed, within certain limits, over equal spaces; and accordingly a reduction, at the rate of five in forty-seven, should give the relative value of all the latitudes of Western Persia.† But there appear to have been at the same time so many other particular causes of vitiation in the construction of Ptolemy's tables, such as a reference to itineraries, and an attention to recorded distances of other authorities, that it is, I believe, impossible, for any uniform scale of rectification to answer with correctness, in its practical application, to any great section of his geographical system. In the present case, however, the reduction gives a satisfactory result; and I believe, indeed, it will be generally found to apply as well as any uniform scale can possibly be expected. The rate of reduction for the latitude of $40^{\circ} 30'$, which is that assigned to Pharaspa, will be $4^{\circ} 18'$; and this, subtracted from Ptolemy's numbers, will give the corrected measurement of $36^{\circ} 12'$; the true position being determined astronomically at $36^{\circ} 28' 12''$.

But if we can only obtain this imperfect verification of latitude by an almost arbitrary system of reduction, what can we hope for in the far more complicated question of longitude? It seems to have been the usual custom for geographers of late‡ to follow the formula of reduction in the proportion of seven to

* See Cellarius, *Ant. Geog.*, vol. ii. p. 671.

† It has been often remarked that all Ptolemy's maritime positions are more accurate than his inland; and this scale therefore cannot be expected to apply to the latitudes in the Persian Gulf.

‡ See Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* vol. i. p. 113; and Murray's *Asia*, vol. i. p. 48..

five, which was first proposed by M. Gosselin, for the rectification of the longitudes of Ptolemy;* but as the principle on which his calculation depends is altogether fanciful, and has long been banished from the field of geographical inquiry,† I can hardly think the mere practical applicability of the scale which is derived from it to be sufficient to warrant its adoption without any explanation of the reasons of coincidence. The question, however, is not so obscure as it has been thought; for as Ptolemy himself in detailing the longitudinal system of his geography, as far as it regards the construction of his map of Central Asia, affords us a direct explanation of the causes of his error of excess; so at the same time his own evidence points out the only means of analysis by which this error can be rectified with a due respect both to theory and practice. The foundation of his longitudinal measurement of Asia was, as he himself declares, the recorded itinerary of the caravans that traded between Rome and China;‡ and in constructing a map from these materials his errors of projection were threefold.

Firstly, on a line from Hierapolis, upon the Euphrates, to the stone tower, which must have been situated a short distance to the eastward of Yârkend, he converted road distance to measurement upon the map, at a uniform reduction of one in eleven and a half, instead of one in eight, or, perhaps, which would be more accurate upon so long a line, one in seven. Secondly, he committed the astronomical error of computing an equatorial degree at 500 instead of 600 Olympic stadia; and thus upon the line of the itinerary which was assumed to be about the parallel of Rhodes, or in latitude $36^{\circ} 21'$, he allowed only 400 stadia to a degree of longitude, while the true measurement was 480; and, thirdly, in converting the schœni of the itinerary into Olympic stadia, which gave him his element for computing the degrees of longitude, he assumed their uniform identity with the Persian parasang of Olympic stadia, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles, whilst I believe the schœnus to have been the natural measure of 1 hour, employed by all caravans, both in ancient and modern times, to regulate their daily march, and to have averaged, as near as possible, a distance of 3 British miles.§

The amount of excess caused by these three errors in the elements of Ptolemy's computation may then easily be calculated; and they will be found to fix the scale of rectification at a reduction nearly in the proportion of ten to seven (strictly $\frac{4\frac{1}{2}}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ ||), a rate

* In the "Geographie des Grecs Analysée."

See the admirable treatise on Ancient Geography by M. Larenaudière, chap. i., in Malte Brun's Geography.

† Lib. i., cap. 11.

§ The Parthian stations of Isidore of Charax, where he employs the schœnus in describing the caravan route from Zeugma to the frontiers of India, confirm this valuation in the most decisive manner.

|| 115 schœni are valued, according to Ptolemy's calculation, at $7^{\circ} 30'$. Their true geographical equivalent, on the line of the Rhodian Diaphragm, would be $5^{\circ} 17'$.

which I believe will answer with greater accuracy than M. Gosselin's proposed correction of seven to five along the particular line of Central Asia, and which has the advantage of being based on rational and direct evidence, afforded by Ptolemy himself, instead of pre-supposing, with M. Gosselin, the existence of a system of astronomical observation among the early Asiatic empires, far superior to that possessed by the geographers of Greece, and rivalling the perfection of modern science.* In the present case this scale applies, without any considerable error; for Ptolemy's measurement from Hierapolis to Pharaspa, $14^{\circ} 15'$, reduced in the proportion of ten to seven, will be equivalent to $9^{\circ} 58'$, which is within half a degree of the true interval; and, considering the rough materials with which he worked, this approximative accuracy is all, I think, that can be looked for. Respecting the relative position of Ptolemy's Pharaspa to the great natural features in the vicinity, I may also remark, that it is placed correctly enough between the river Amardus and the Median lake; and that the mountain-barrier of Zagros appears nearly a degree to the W. of it.

At the same time, however, I must observe with respect to Ptolemy, that I do not pretend to advocate any systematic rectification of his Asiatic geography. We may perceive, it is true, without much trouble, the causes of his error; and in some instances we may succeed in correcting his measurements, by a mere attention to those causes; but I believe that, until we are able to analyse all his various sources of information, and to trace, in particular, every stage of his caravan route through Asia, it is in vain to expect to identify the greater part of his positions, or to render his work of any real benefit to the science of comparative geography. I shall endeavour to explain, in one connected form, the many vicissitudes of name which the capital of Media Atropatene appears to have undergone, when I arrive at the period of its foundation. I have only here to remark, that the names of Vera, Praaspa, &c., applied to the castle upon the mound; and that the titles of Gaza and Gazaca were employed to designate the town in the plain. Early in the second century the town would seem to have dwindled into insignificance, though the castle retained its celebrity; for Arrian, who wrote under the Emperor Adrian, names Gazaca as a large Median village;† and this may be, perhaps, the reason why, if my preceding argument is correct, Ptolemy only included Pharaspa in his Median catalogue. However, the place must soon afterwards have recovered its importance; for Quadratus, who wrote also in the

* See Murray's Asia, vol. i. page 479.

† See Stephan. de Urbibus, under the head Γάζακα.

second century, describes Gazaca as the largest city in Media;* and Agathodæmon, who is supposed to have framed his maps about the same time, gave a conspicuous place to the Median Gazaca.

Before I now quit this portion of the inquiry, and ascend to the times of the Median Ecbatana, I beg to recapitulate the state of the argument as it at present stands. I have clearly and demonstratively shown the identity of the Arabian Shíz with the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán. I have established, as I think, most conclusively, the connexion of this Arabian Shíz with the Sasanian Canzaca; and I have now traced up the history of the same city, under various names, to a date preceding the Christian æra, showing the applicability of the best authorities to this place, and this place only, and explaining the errors of others in a way that can, I hope, leave little ground for cavil. It thus follows that, in the first century before Christ, the capital of Media Atropatene is proved to have occupied the site of the ruins now known under the title of Takhti-Soleimán. Beyond this period, it is no longer possible to keep up the sustained historical connexion on which I have hitherto based my argument. The Parthian wars, it is true, which occupy so conspicuous a place in the Roman annals, were preceded by the Syro Macedonian empire of the East, of which we also possess imperfect notices; and this dynasty, again, arose upon the ruins of Alexander's conquest, the best authenticated period of ancient history; but still, in all these great political convulsions, Media Atropatene escaped being made the theatre of contest, and the internal geography of the province thus remained, until the time of Antony, almost a dead letter in Western science. The site of a great capital, however, rarely changes, except upon some change of dynasty, when the national character of the country undergoes a corresponding alteration; and then the event can scarcely fail of being commemorated, either in history or tradition. I think, therefore, that if I can show the original capital of Media Atropatene to have been named Ecbatana, and can, at the same time, glean a few notices of the place from history under the same title in succeeding ages, during which the province enjoyed an almost uninterrupted tranquillity, I shall be authorised in assuming the identity of that ancient Ecbatana with the city which represented the capital in the time of Antony; and when I further show the applicability to Antony's Phraata of all the descriptive evidence regarding the Atropatenian Ecbatana, and explain and verify the various mutations of title which at present obscure the argument, I believe the identification will be allowed to be proved with as near an

* See Stephan. in loco cit. I take the age of Quadratus from M. de Sainte Croix, in the Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex.

approach to demonstration as the science of comparative geography will admit.

I ascend at once, then, to the æra of Herodotus, and before I consider his geographical, I must necessarily, to avoid perplexity, devote a few remarks to his historical, evidence. In the very narrow limits here allotted for discussion, I cannot be expected to enter at any length upon the controverted points of chronology between the extinction of the Assyrian monarchy, in the person of Sardanapalus, in B.C. 821, and the æra of Cyrus the Great, in B.C. 559. The subject has been elaborately treated by Mr. Dickenson, in a very able paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*;* and though I confess that I am hardly prepared to admit, in its full extent, his individual identification of the Median Arbacidæ with the lower Assyrian dynasty, or his attempted reconciliation of oriental with classic history, yet that he has clearly established the novel and, at the same time, most interesting historical fact of a distinction between the two Median dynasties of Herodotus and Ctesias, is not, I think, to be disputed. These two authors, be it remembered, both drew their materials from the national records of Persia; and it cannot be supposed, therefore, that a dynasty described by one as composed of nine kings, and continuing for 267 years, can possibly refer to the same family which the other limits to four kings, and to a duration of 156 years, especially when, in the two lists, there is not a single identical name except the last. That all chronologers, indeed, from Eusebius and the Syncellus down to the present century, have insisted on assimilating these two discordant lists, instead of authenticating their labours, only proves how much of system, and how little of rational criticism, has hitherto pervaded the inquiry. I take it for granted, then, that the dynasty founded by Arbaces, after the first destruction of Niniveh, is different from that which owed its origin to Dejoces, above a century later; and this distinction of the two families, involving also a distinction of two Median kingdoms, affords me the first evidence of there having been two Median capitals of the name of Ecbatana. Arbaces, it is stated by Ctesias, after the capture and destruction of Niniveh, conveyed the treasures of Assyria to Ecbatana, the seat royal of Media; and the city is said, by the same author, in another passage, to have existed from the most remote antiquity, and to have been beautified and enlarged by Semiramis, in one of her Asiatic tours; the general description evidently alluding to Hamadân, the seat royal of the greater Media, though perhaps in one particular Ctesias, in common with many others, borrowed a tradition from the less ancient site.† Whether the kings who

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. art. 16.

† I allude to the famous cut of Semiramis, which supplied Ecbatana with water.

succeeded Arbaces resided at Niniveh or Hamadán, is of little consequence to the argument. It is sufficient that, after a lapse of five generations, which are recorded by Ctesias, with no other remark than the duration of the respective reigns, Artæus, the lineal descendant of Arbaces, ascended the throne of Asia in B.C. 691. During his reign a great revolt occurred of the provinces of interior Persia, and though the rebels are named by Ctesias, Cadusians, yet, as it is impossible to suppose 200,000 men could have been raised from this single tribe, I am inclined to include in the rebellion the neighbouring province of Media Atropatene;* indeed, it is not impossible but that the leader of the revolt, who is named Parsodes by Ctesias, and who rendered himself independent of the great Median empire, may be the Dejoces of Herodotus, Parsodes, or Phrazad, being an affiliative epithet given him from his father Phraortes.†

I now take up the narrative of Herodotus. He states that the Medes, (by which we can only understand the inhabitants of Media Atropatene, for Artæus was upon the throne of the greater Media,) after the period of their revolt, finding the evils of living without laws or government, unanimously elected Dejoces, a native Median, to be their king. "Dejoces," he then says, "was no sooner seated upon the throne, than he commanded his subjects to build a city, and to fortify and adorn it, bestowing his attention upon no other place. The Medes, obedient to the command, erected that great and strong city, now known under the name of Agbatana, where the walls are built circle within circle, and are so constructed that each inner circle overtops its outer neighbour by the height of the battlements alone. This was effected partly by the nature of the ground, a conical hill, partly by the building itself. The number of the circles was seven, and within the innermost were built the palace and the treasury. The circumference of the outermost wall was almost equal to that of Athens. The battlements of the first circle were white, of the second black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue,

Mr. Williams supposes himself to have discovered this in the Zendebrúd of Isfahán, but he is quite mistaken in the grounds upon which he builds his argument. However, it must be allowed that, at Hamadán, the true Ecbatana of Ctesias, there is nothing of the sort; and, moreover, the physical characteristic, recorded by Ctesias, of the city being built upon the declivity of the lofty mountain of Orontes, is utterly irreconcilable with a scarcity of water. I am, therefore, inclined to suspect that, in describing the wonderful tunnel of Semiramis, Ctesias must have employed a tradition of the other Ecbatana, referring to the time when the Zindáni-Soleimán became suddenly exhausted of its waters, and they were diverted by a subterraneous channel into the basin of the Takht.

* It is worthy of remark, that the Cadusians are almost invariably associated with the Atropatenian Medes in all subsequent history.

† For the account of the Median dynasty by Ctesias, see Diod. Sic., lib. ii. c. 3. For the Atropatenian dynasty of Herodotus, see that author, lib. i., from cap. 95 to cap. 130.

of the fifth orange—"all these were brilliantly coloured with different paints; but the battlements of the sixth circle were gilt with silver, and of the seventh with gold."

"Such were the palace and the surrounding fortifications, that Dejoces constructed for himself; but he ordered the mass of the Median nation to construct their houses in a circle round the outer wall."

It has been asserted, that Herodotus furnishes us with no hint from whence we may infer the relative position upon the map of the Agbatana, which he thus curiously describes,* but this is not the case. I have already shown that, as the capital of the Atropatenian Medes, it must necessarily have been in *Azerbîjân*; and Herodotus, in another passage, confirms this natural inference in the most direct and positive manner. "The pastures," he says, "where they kept the royal cattle, were at the foot of the mountains north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine Sea. In this quarter, toward the Sapires, Media is an elevated country, filled with mountains, and covered with forests, whilst the other parts of the province are open and champaign."† These mountains, again, north of Agbatana, are frequently mentioned by Herodotus in his episode of the birth and education of Cyrus, as immediately contiguous to the city; and the indication, therefore, of the Sapires and the Euxine Sea applying to them, will necessarily fix the position of the capital of Dejoces, as far as Herodotus was himself aware of it, in the northern and mountainous division of the province, or Media Atropatene, distinguished from the champaign country of Media Magna to the south.

There is then, I believe, no place in this province that will so well suit the description of Herodotus as the spot which we find, in after ages, still holding its metropolitan character. The conical hill, surrounded with walls, is a marked and peculiar feature that certainly does not exist at present in any part of *Azerbîjân*, except at the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán.

I will now endeavour to explain the story of the seven walls. This is manifestly a fable of Sabæan origin, the seven colours mentioned by Herodotus being precisely those employed by the orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve. Thus *Nizámí*, in his poem of the *Heft Peïker*, describes a seven-bodied palace, built by *Bahrám Gúr*, nearly in the same terms as Herodotus. The palace dedicated to Saturn, he says, was black—that of Jupiter, orange, or more strictly sandal-wood colour ‡—of Mars, scarlet—of the Sun, golden—of Venus, white—of Mercury, azure—and of the Moon,

* Williams's *Ancient Asia*, p. 2.

† Lib. i. cap. 110.

‡ In Persian, *Sandalí*; in Greek, *σανδαρίκινος*.

green, a hue which is applied by the orientals to silver.* I cannot believe that at Agbatana the walls were really painted of these colours; indeed, battlements gilt with gold and silver are manifestly fabulous; nor do I think that there ever could have been even seven concentric circles; but in that early age, when it is doubtful whether mithraicism, or the fire-worship, had originated in this part of Asia, it is not at all improbable that, according to the Sabæan superstition, the city should have been dedicated to the seven heavenly bodies, and perhaps a particular part assigned to the protection of each, with some coloured device emblematic of the tutelar divinity; and that, after the lapse of 1000 years, during which the city had enjoyed the highest religious celebrity that it could reach, in preserving within its walls the most sacred fire of the Magians, the original Sabæan superstition was not effaced, is evident from the Armenian history, where, as I have already shown, at the end of the third century of Christ, the capital of Media Atropatene was still characterised as “the second Ecbatana,” or “the seven walled city.”†

Herodotus probably received his account of Agbatana from the Medians whom he met at Babylon; and that he should have accurately preserved an indication of its geographical position, and the remarkable feature of an embattled conical hill, is perhaps as much as can be expected from him. He must have been grossly deceived in estimating the circumference of the outer wall at nearly the size of Athens; indeed, that a palace built for the residence of a single man should be nearly twenty miles in circuit, is, of course, a palpable absurdity.‡

I believe the mound of Takhti-Soleimán to have been first surrounded with defences by the Median Dejoces, and the area within the walls, which was amply sufficient for the noblest palace that kingly splendour could devise, to have been reserved by him for his exclusive residence. The great mass of the city, as Herodotus declares, was in the plain below, and this distinction between the palace and the city was preserved as long as the place continued to be inhabited.

In attempting to connect the ancient oriental legends with legitimate Grecian history, I do so under great reservations, for, as we attain a more accurate knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions, everything tends to show the authenticity of the one, and the fabulous character of the other; indeed, when we find

* See the Poem of Heft Peïker, in the Khamseh of Nizámí. Pers. MS.

† It is very curious to observe, in connexion with this subject, that the figures of the heavenly bodies were preserved as objects of adoration in the temple of Shiz, or Canzaca, above sixteen centuries after the æra of Dejoces, as long, indeed, in all probability, as the temple continued to retain its sacred character.

‡ See Larcher's Herodotus, tom. i. p. 357, where he has collected all the ancient authorities regarding the size of ancient Athens.

that in the time of Darius Hystaspes the genealogical glory of the regal family was identified with the line of the Achæmenidæ, tracing its descent through that illustrious dynasty from some great primeval ancestor named Amakhem, and his offspring Pelubiya, the progenitor of the Pehlevís (and whom I take to be the Zeus and Perseus of the Greeks), and that the nobility of all collateral races, whether connected with Arbaces, or Dejoces, or even Cyrus, was overlooked in this exclusive consideration of the direct line of hereditary royalty, it does appear to me too much to expect that, after an interval of 700 years, the revival of literature should have still found the recollection of those early revolutions of empire so strongly impressed upon the public mind as to afford data, in the romantic histories which were then first embodied, for assigning to each hero of popular tradition his true representative in the page of history. However, it is possible that, in matters connected with the Magian religion, a few great traits of geography and history may have escaped the general disfigurement of antiquity, and when I also consider that in the reign of Ardeshr Bábegán the province of Ažerbíján, and its ancient and holy capital, naturally attracted the great share of popular attention, I gain some clue to explain the general character of verisimilitude which pervades the notices regarding these places scattered through the pages of the Zend A'vestá. I believe there are sufficient reasons for identifying the Aïryana Vaedjô, or Aïryana the pure, of the Zend A'vestá, with Ažerbíján. Monsieur Quatremère has succeeded, in the most satisfactory manner, in tracing the application to the province of Media, of the names of Aria and Ariana from the remotest antiquity down to times comparatively modern;* and it could have only been, I think, to suit a preconceived theory that Anquetil du Perron, in translating the supposed works of Zoroaster, insisted on assimilating the title of Aïryana to that of the province Arran, north of the Araxes, which derived the name, doubtless, from the same source, but which there is little reason to suppose could have assumed it prior to the æra of Mohammed. Bearing in mind the tradition of Zoroaster having first appeared in Shíz, or Ecbatana, and also taking into account the real antiquity of this city, which, as the capital of the province, seems in all ages to have assumed upon occasions the provincial title, we shall now derive many curious points of illustrative evidence from the writings of the early Magians. Aïryana the pure, or I'rán Vij, as it is uniformly named in Anquetil's translation, was supposed to have been the first terrestrial habitation erected by Ormazd. It was a place of delight and abundance, unequalled for its beauty in the entire

* In a long and most excellent note to his translation of the Moghul history; I have not the work at hand to quote the page to which I refer.

world, until Ahrimán caused to appear in the river that watered it the great snake, which afflicted its hitherto genial climate with the severest horrors of winter. Aïryana, again, is said to have been peopled by Ormazd with a heavenly race, and when Jemshíd appeared upon the earth, it was in this place that he fixed his residence, and, with the assistance of this heavenly race, that he established his authority over the world.* In a letter which I lately received from the great Orientalist Von Hammer, at Vienna, he says, "It is eighteen years ago since I proved, in the ninth volume of the *Vienna Review*, the identity of Jemshíd and Dejoces; and this has been since confirmed at full length by Hotty's *Researches* (Hanover, 1829)." I should scarcely venture, I confess, myself to pronounce the direct identity of any fabulous character with a real historic personage; but still I cannot doubt that many of the great deeds of Dejoces were transferred, in oriental tradition, to Jemshíd, the favoured hero of romance; and among these, the establishment of the Median kingdom, and the building of Ecbatana. The *Vendídád* goes on to say, that in Aïryana the rigour of the winter was excessive, the mountains and the whole country were covered with snow, but when the snow is melted, on the return of spring, the rills descending from the mountains scattered around an universal verdure—and then the description commences of the famous palace and citadel built by Jemshíd, or Dejoces, in this favoured spot.

Jemshíd, it is said, erected a Var, or fortress, sufficiently large, and formed of squared blocks of stone; he assembled in the place a vast population, and stocked the surrounding country with cattle for their use. He caused the water of the great fortress to flow forth abundantly. The soil was rich, and produced all that could be desired, and the enamelled fields scattered around delightful odours—the country was excellent, and resembled heaven. And within the Var, or fortress, Jemshíd erected a lofty palace, encompassed with walls, and laid it out in many separate divisions; and there was no high place, either in front or rear, to command and overawe the fortress.† The surrounding country he peopled abundantly, and placed in the most flourishing condition, and he applied himself to perfect Var-afshuvé, or "the Var, abounding in all things."‡

These passages I have selected from the second chapter of the *Vendídád*, as bearing the most marked application to the site of Takhti-Soleimán. The natural beauty of the surrounding country in the spring season, when the melting snow descends in rills from

* See Anquetil du Perron's *Zend Avesta*, *Vendidad*, Fargard. i.

† Anquetil gives this optional reading, vol. i. p. 276 note 2.

‡ See *Zend Avesta*, *Vendidad*, Farg. ii

the mountains, is, as I have remarked in my preceding memoir, proverbial throughout Persia. The severity of the winter is equally characteristic; for I suppose there is no inhabited part of *Azerbījān* where the snow lies as deep as around *Takhti-Soleimān*. The circumstance of the great snake, also, which *Ahrimān* created in the river, is, perhaps, not less curious, when we remember that there are so many stories of this nature connected with the Median dynasty, from its bearing the family name of *Azdehāk*,* or the dragon, and when we see that at the present day a ridge of rock, formed by the calcareous deposit of the water, retains this very title of "*The Dragon*." I may also notice the isolated hill, there being no high place to command it, either in front or rear; the massive walls of hewn stone, and the palace inside, laid out in divisions, the cause of which I have conjectured in explaining *Herodotus*; the causing the water to flow forth abundantly by an aperture, doubtless made in the rocky banks of the lake; and the rich and productive character of the neighbouring lands; and I may assert, I think, that these are all exact and determinative points of evidence, that it is impossible to verify at any spot in all *Azerbījān*, or, perhaps, in all Persia, but at the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimān*. Indeed I can only account for the extraordinary accuracy of the description, by supposing the *Vendidad* to have been written in the reign of *Ardešhīr Bābegān* by Magian priests, who were familiar with the localities, and who had received traditional accounts of the real ancient foundation of the city by the Median king, *Dejoces*. There is no direct indication that I can find in the Zend books of the geographical position of *Aīryana*, or of its capital, which is named, in Pehlevi, *Vār-Jem-gird*, or the fortress of *Jem*, though *Anquetil*, and, after him, *Saint Martin*, repeatedly state that it was contained within the limits of *Aīryaman*, which they translate by *Armenia*.† A general connexion is certainly perceptible in the *Vendidad* between the three names of *Aīryaman*, *Aryama*, which *Anquetil* conceives to be *Urumiyah*, and this title of *Aīryana*. They are all mentioned as the special objects of the care of *Ormazd*, and among the first places that embraced the law of *Zoroaster*; but I think it more probable that they should all relate to the kingdom of *Aria* or *Media Atropatene*, and its capital, *Ecbatana*, than that the Magians, in the time of *Ardešhīr*, should have been supposed to commemorate either the petty and obscure town of *Urumiyah*, which was unknown in history, or the hostile nation of

* The Arabic form is *Azdehāk*. The Persian *Azhdehāk*, or *Azhdeha*.

† *Zend Avesta*, tom. i. part ii. p. 429, and *Saint Martin*, tom. i. p. 271. *M. Burnouf*, the best Zend scholar living, doubts that the *Aīryaman* of the *Zend Avesta* applies to a country at all.—See "*Essai sur le Yaçna*," tom. i. part i. p. 107 of the *Notes et Eclaircissemens*."

Armenia, which there is no reason to believe ever observed, with any degree of purity, the dualistic principles of Zoroaster. That the Indian Pársis, however, understand that these two words, Aryama and Airyaman, to relate to Urumiyah and Armenia, is more than probable : and we thus see the origin of the tradition which assigned to the former town the birth-place of Zoroaster, and supplied the author of the Ferhengi-Jehángirí with the stories of the cities of Arminiyah and Shíz, and the fire-temple of Derekhsh having been founded by the Magian prophet. Airyana, the pure, however, is the great theme of awe and admiration ; and in the Vendidad it is expressly said that Zoroaster here first promulgated the law,* a statement which in its resembling the tradition of Shíz, recorded by Zakariyá, is strikingly confirmative of the identity of the two places. To the Pehleví Bundeshesh, or the Pehleví, translations of the Zend Avestá, I cannot allow an antiquity nearly reaching that of the writings in the Zend language. The Bundeshesh, indeed, I believe, can be distinctly proved, by its geographical nomenclature, to be a work of the twelfth or thirteenth century ; and I do not, therefore, attach much weight to its explanation of the more ancient positions. The author, however, though he confounded Vár-Jemgird, or the fortress of Jemshíd, which the Vendidad names simply Var, with a certain fabulous Jemkend, in the country of Dámaghán, appears to have rightly understood the locality of Airyana the Pure, or, as it is written in Pehleví, I'rán Vij. It was on the borders, he says, of Atún-Pádegán, or Azerbíján ;† and he repeats the tradition, that “ Zoroaster, when he received the law from Ormazd, first published it with success in I'rán Vij and Mediyómáh” (perhaps the country of Media, which the word literally signifies, rather than the name of a person, as Anquetil supposes), “ embraced the excellent religion.” ‡ He also states that Zoroaster was begotten in I'rán Vij ;§ and all these indications seem to refer to the Arabian Shíz. In another Pehleví fragment it is mentioned that Zoroaster returned to I'rán Vij, after having declared the law to Gushtásp,|| and that on this occasion his wife washed herself in the Rúd Kansé (or river of Kansé), a name which certainly recalls to mind the river of Ganza, or Canzaca.¶

I have stated my opinion of the modern character of the Bundeshesh. The names of Chejest, applied to the lake of Urumiyah ; of the Khejend-rúd, or river of Khojend ; the Arez-rúd, or river of Herhaz, in Mázenderán ; and the Teremet-rúd, or river of

* Zend Avesta, tom. i. part ii. p. 109.

† Zend Avesta, tom. ii. p. 410.

‡ Idem, p. 419.

§ Idem, p. 393.

|| Zend Avesta, tom. i. part. ii. P.N. p. 37.

¶ In the Pehleví translation of the Vendidad of Jámásp this river is said to be in Atún Pádegán.—See Zend Avesta, tom. i. part ii. p. 269, note 1.

Termed, in Turkistán; with a multitude of other names, that appear to me wilfully 'disfigured from their true modern forms: * all incline me to this judgment; but there are two names connected with the I'rán Vij, which, if my identification of them is allowed, will distinctly prove an era subsequent to the Moghul invasion of Persia. These names are Chekayet Dayeti, applied a river or rivers of Azerbījān.

In the Bundelesh they are merely mentioned in connexion with I'rán Vij; † but the Zerdusht Námeḥ, as it is followed by Anquetil in his life of Zoroaster, would appear to state that they were passed by the pseudo-prophet on his road from Urumiyāh to I'rán Vij, when he was travelling to the mountains to seek inspiration from Ormazd. ‡ With this indication, then, I restore them to their true Turkish orthography, of Jaghatú and Taghatú, or Tatáu; and if this homely illustration is admitted, while it strengthens my argument in favour of Takhti-Soleimán, it will at the same time show from what a most unworthy source the modern cosmogony of the Pársis is derived. Indeed I should scarcely wonder if the famous bridge, Chinevād, where the Pársis believe the final judgment will take place, and which the Bundelesh describes as upon the Chekayet or Jaghatú, § should turn out to be the Kız Kóprı, near Şa'in Kal'eh; and the Gate of Hell, in the vicinity, may also be the Zindáni-Soleimán. But I must leave further speculation, and return to my argument.

Airyana I have supposed to apply to the province of Azerbījān, and sometimes, possibly, to its capital city. The Var of Jemshíd refers, I believe, exclusively to the citadel. The original root of this word is the Sanskrit Vara, signifying, "encompassing, surrounding;" and in all succeeding ages the name was applied either as a proper title, or in its general signification of a fortress to this citadel of Ecbatana. Thus the Zend Var, the *Βάρις* || of the Greeks, which is always employed to denote the treasury-citadel of Ecbatana; the Vera of Strabo, applied to the Median fortress, which was attacked by Antony; the Balaroth or Vara-rúd (the river of Vara) of Theophylact; and the *βαρισμάν*, or keeper of the Baris, which is used by the Emperor Heraclius, in reference to the governor of this very fortress of Canzaca. The Persian Bárú, "a wall of fortification," is, of course, referrible

* Thus (page 367) the mountains of Kúmish or Dámaghán are named Mad no friyad, which I believe to be the Arabic Ma'deno-l-Faulád, or "mine of steel," the mountain-district to the present day retaining the title of Faulád Maḥalleh.

† Pages 364, 365, and 392.

‡ Zend Avesta, tom. i. part i. p. 20.

§ Tom. ii. part ii. p. 365.

|| *Βάρις* is explained by Hesychius and Suidas, with a variety of meanings, all relating to an embattled citadel. The word, however, is, I believe, almost exclusively applied by the Greeks to the fortresses of Persia.

to the same root; and it is curious that this root should assimilate so nearly to the words employed in the Semitic languages: Bîreh in Hebrew; Bîrthá in Syriac; and Bîrenthá in Chaldee; also to denote an embattled citadel.

I wish I could give as satisfactory an explanation of the title which applied to the city as of that adopted by the fortress; but this, I fear, is unattainable. The author of the *Pentaglot lexicon*, indeed, refers the Hebrew Achmetha, which appears to have been the Chaldaic way of writing the Grecian Agbatana, or Ecbatana,* to a root signifying "to guard, protect, or collect together;" and though the derivation is not free from exception, yet as the connecting links of the Syrian Ahmethán, the Armenian Ahmetan, and the Persian Hamadán, serve to show that the true Oriental pronunciation of the word is in favour of this etymology. I believe that it may be received in preference to any other.† The great objection seems to be that the derivation of a Persian or Median name should be rather sought for in the Indo-Bactrian than in the Semitic languages; but against this it may be argued that the name was certainly in use in Syria; that if it were first introduced into Media by Semiramis it would necessarily be Semitic; and that we have no proof as yet that the Median language was not itself of that family. Be the derivation, however, what it may, there can be little question but that the title was applied exclusively to cities which contained a strong citadel for the protection of royal treasures. We have unquestionable evidence that in the two Median Ecbatanas were deposited the treasures of the king.‡ The Persian Ecbatana of Pliny and Josephus can only be represented by the treasury-citadel of Persepolis.§ There are grounds for supposing a treasury to have existed in the strong position of the Syrian Ecbatana upon Mount Carmel, which is noticed by Pliny and Herodotus;|| and lastly, if there ever were an Assyrian Ecbatana

* See Schindler's *Lexicon*, under the head חמא, p. 596.

† There is no one, I believe, at the present day who would be inclined to pay any regard whatever to Bochart's fanciful derivation of Ecbatana from the Arabic Aghbeth, signifying "dust, or brick-coloured" (*Phaleg*, lib. iii. c. 14); and Scaliger's reference of the word to the Hebrew Béthan, "a palace," is, I think, equally unsatisfactory. Buxtorf derives the Hebrew Achmetha either from אחם, which he translates by "serinium," or from חום, "heat," Achmetha, or Ecbatana, having been a royal summer residence. This is quite in the style of "lucus a non lucendo."

‡ The notices of the Atropatenian treasury-citadel I have already given. For the treasury of the Ecbatana of Media Magna, see Ctesias in *Diod. Sic.*, lib. ii. c. 3; all the historians of Alexander; Strabo, p. 731; and Isid. *Char.* in Hudson's *Minor Geographers*, vol. ii. p. 6.

§ *Plin.*, lib. vi. c. 29, and *Joseph. Ant.*, lib. x. c. 11, s. 7. Josephus places this Ecbatana in Media; but the description unquestionably refers to the palace or castle of Persepolis.

|| *Lib. v.* cap. 19; cap. 64, *Her.*, lib. iii.

—a point that I think very doubtful*—the castle of 'Amádíyah, which, according to Mr. Rich, retains to the present day the title of Ekbadan, and which is the strongest fortress in all Kúrdistán, will best suit the indication.† I assume, then, that the title of Ecbatana merely signifies a treasure-city; and in this way I explain both the error of Pliny, who applied the name to the Arsacidan stronghold of Europus, distinguished from their open capital of Arsacia, which was situated at some distance to the S.,‡ and the similar mistake of Ammianus Marcellinus, in alluding, under the title of Ecbatana, to the city of Isfahan, which in his day formed the Sasanian capital of Central Persia.

In the Atropatenian city of Ecbatana, Dejoces built a palace and a treasury. Cyrus conveyed to the same place the captured treasures of Lydia; and these ancient trophies of national glory were believed to be still deposited there at the time of the invasion of Heraclius. We thus perceive at once the natural cause of the change of name in the Atropatenian capital. The exotic Ecbatana was translated, under a native dynasty, into its vernacular synonym of Gaza;§ and the modification which the name farther experienced, to the Armenian form of Gazaca, Canzaca, or Kandsag, perpetuated to the ages of its latest decadence its original character of the city of treasures. But there are other names employed in the campaigns of Antony, which are, perhaps, even less susceptible of direct explanation. If the city were ever really named Phraata, as it appears in Plutarch, Appian, and Stephen, it could only have been a temporary appellation imposed upon it in honour of the Arsacidan king, Phraates; and this I scarcely think probable. The title in Dion Cassius, Ptolemy, and Quadratus, is written Praaspa, Pharaspa, and Phraaspa, words which are nearly similar, and which bear evident marks of a Zend etymology. The literal signification of Phraaspa in Zend would be, "abounding in horses;" and when we find in Strabo and Polybius that this was really one of the great characteristics of the province,|| we at once acknowledge the propriety of the epithet. There are two other ways, however, of explaining

* See Ammianus, lib. xxiii., c. 6, and Plutarch, in the life of Alexander. I doubt, however, the existence of this Assyrian Ecbatana.

† Kúrdistan, vol. i. p. 153.

‡ Lib. vi. c. 17. This Ecbatana, the Ragau of the book of Tobit, and Rhages of Alexander, is represented by the remarkable ruins of Kal'eh Erig, near Verámin: the ruins of Arsacia are to be seen at Shehri-Toghán, in the desert, 12 miles S. of Verámin.

§ The Greeks, it is well known, uniformly asserted their adoption of the word Γαζα, "a treasury," from the Persian. Brisson de Reg. Pers. Princip., p. 157, has collected the evidence of all antiquity on this subject. The root, however, is of Semitic origin, but was probably very early naturalised in Persia. In modern Persian it is modified into the term Ganj.

|| Strabo, p. 523; Polyb. lib. v., c. 55.

the title, which are scarcely less plausible. In the Vendídád the place is named Verofshuwé, or the "abundant Var;" and this is not very dissimilar to the Greek corruption; and, again, Zohák, whose connexion with the Median dynasty of Dejoces, however Persian fable may disguise the fact, is still unquestionable, was named Azdehák, or "the Dragon," and Bíverasp;* and from this last title might have originated the barbarous Praaspa, which still adhered to the capital of the Dragon dynasty. I now take up the last of the many titles which I have shown to have been bestowed on the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and this title of Aïryana participated between the province and the city in the same way as, in after ages, Ažerbíjân was employed to denote both the one and the other, affords a most curious, and, at the same time, a most gratifying subject of inquiry. The evidence of the Zend A'vestá is, I think, strikingly illustrative. Herodotus also mentions that the Medes (by which, as I have already shown, he means the inhabitants of Media Atropatene) were anciently called Arii.† It is possible that the Hará of the Israelitish captivity may be referrible to the same source; for it is worthy of remark that the Hará of one passage is replaced in the other by "the cities of the Medes."‡

And the book of Tobit, again, as far as the authority goes, appears to me quite decisive of the application of this title to the Atropatenian capital. In the very reign of Dejoces, as it would seem from a comparison of dates, Tobias was sent by his father from Niniveh to Rhages. Now, between these two capitals there have been in all ages but two routes; and what makes the discrimination between these two routes in antiquity so very difficult is, that they both traversed a Median capital of the name of Ecbatana. The two roads conducting to the two Ecbatanas are distinctly marked at the present day by a continued line of antiquarian monuments, which, I think, have been never put together in a connected series. Thus, on the direct route to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, we have the mound at Arbela; the pillars with cuneiform inscriptions at Sídek, and Keli-Shín; the village of Háik, immediately on descending the mountains, which, in thus preserving the name of the great Armenian patriarch, has evident claims to antiquity; the very remarkable artificial teppeh in the plain of Soldúz, on which is built the fortress of Nákhodeh; the tomb, and other remains at Inderkesh, near Só-új Bólák; the ruined bridge of Kiz Kópri; and, finally, Takhti-Soleimán. On the other route we have Arbela; the naphtha pits of Kerkúk, where, from the testimonials of all antiquity, there must be some

* D'Herbelot writes the name Piurasb, which is incorrect.

† Lib vii. cap. 62.

‡ See 1 Chron., c. v. v. 26; and 2 Kings, c. xvii v. 6

most interesting remains;* the famous But Kháneh, or idol-temple, on the skirts of the plain of Shehrizúr; the ruined city of Húrín; the sculpture at Sheikhán; the arch at the gates of Zagros;† Baghistane, or Bísitún; the temple of Kengavar; and the Ganj Náneh, in the defile leading into Hamadán.

Even, did ancient authors afford no illustration of these routes, I think the monuments themselves would clearly mark the lines of communication; but still the very clearness of this proof of their existence rather increases the difficulty of their distinction. We find in our English copy of the Book of Tobit, translated from the Greek, that Tobias arrived at the Median Ecbatana, on the route from Niniveh to Rhages;‡ but as a city of this name would have occurred on either line, we do not thereby obtain any clue to the determination of which route he followed. Certainly if we refer to the map we shall at once see that the line by Shehrizúr, Zoháb, and Hamadán, will cause an excess of more than a hundred miles above the distance along the direct road through Takhti-Soleimán. Both the routes, however, were followed in antiquity; and the deviation, therefore, is no proof against Tobias having been conducted along the southern line. As far as research is concerned, then, it certainly is not a little curious to find that in the Latin copies of Tobit the name of Ecbatana of Media does not occur at all; that the marriage with Sara, and the other events, which in our version are described as taking place at Ecbatana, are assigned in the Latin copies to Rhages;§ and that the only place which is mentioned on the line between Rhages and Niniveh, and which must thus necessarily be the same as the Greek Ecbatana, is Charran.||

This place, moreover, is stated to be situated between Rhages and Niniveh, at the distance of 11 stages from either. In illustrating the geography of the ancients, we must pay particular attention to the rough estimates of distance which are calculated in stages or days' journey. These stages, which answer to the *Menzil* of the present day, cannot be verified by their assimilation to any uniform distance, either along the road or upon the map: local causes will arise to lengthen or shorten them, according to the character of the country which they traverse; and the only

* Besides the evidence of Strabo, Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, and Ptolemy, I may observe that the naphtha pits of Kerkúk occur in the sacred writings of the Bráhmans, and are still sometimes visited by devotees from India.—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 297 and 434; and vol. iv. p. 374.

† I have mentioned all these places in the Memoir published in the *Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc.*, vol. ix. part i.

‡ Tobit, c. vii. v. 1.

§ The Vulgate account is certainly most confused; for if the marriage with Sara took place at Rhages, where is the other city of that name to which the angel was despatched to recover the money from Gabel (c. ix. v. 3)?

|| Vulgate, c. xi. v. 1.

means of illustration is thus to compare the ancient estimate with the Menzils of the present day. In the present instance I give the stages exactly as they are now travelled. From Verámin* to Teherán, 1; to Kazvín, 3; to Zenján, 4; and to Takhti-Soleimán, 3,—making an aggregate of 11. Again, the stages from Takhti-Soleimán are : to Só-új Bólák, 3; to Soldúz, 1; to Ushneï (the villages of Háik, or Sirgán), 1; to Sídek, 1; to Rowándiz, 1; to Herír, 1; to Arbíl, 1; to the Greater Záb, 1; and to Mósul, 1,—which also give a result of 11, and, I believe, correspond in actual distance to a nicety with the other half of the line.

The Ecbatana of the greater Media or Hamadán, I may remark, at the same time, will not in any way suit this indication. From Verámin to Hamadán, is 9 stages; and from Hamadán to Mósul is 19. It remains to verify and to explain the name of Charran,† which I shall be able to do with much exactitude, when the course of my argument again carries me down to the Arabian geographers. Here I shall only say that the word is identical with Arrán; and that of this we have a striking proof in the analogous instance of the great Mesopotamian city, the name of which was written indifferently, either with the initial guttural Kharrán and Harrán, or without it, Arrán, and, perhaps, more simply Ar-Rán. In the time of the Greek and Latin geographers, as the names of Aria and Ariana had been extended over almost all the countries that professed the Arianian religion of Zoroaster, it is not surprising that the particular provincial title from which the name arose should have escaped their observation. Apollodorus, as he is quoted by Stephen, is, perhaps, the only author who directly alludes to the Arrán or Ariana of Media.‡ The name of Ariana, he says, is applied to a nation who border on the Cadusians; and, when we remember that the Cadusians, whose proper seat was in Tárom and the Gilán mountains, extended their sway over all the neighbouring countries, doubtless including the hill country of Zenján, and had been, moreover, associated with the Atropatenian Medes in their original revolt under Dejoces, and probably during the whole period of their later history, we shall perceive the application of the passage. It has been surmised by Saint Martin and Quatremère, that the Airán of the Sasanian coins and inscriptions, rendered letter for

* The ancient Rhages, as I have already mentioned, was situated at Kal'eh Erig, near Verámin, and must not be confounded with the Arabian Reï. The ancient road probably led from the plain of Sulṭáníyah, by Sojás, to Takhti-Soleimán; but this would only shorten the distance a few miles.

† The Catholic critics have laboured hard to explain the geography of the Latin version of Tobit, but, as it appears to me, they have only involved the subject in a greater confusion.—See Hardouin. *Opera Selecta*, p. 543.

‡ Stephan. de Urbibus in voce *'Aqavá*.

letter by the modern term *I'rán*, owes its origin to the same source;* and what is more to the purpose, M. Quatremère has distinctly proved, that, in the whole range of Armenian history, the names of *Arii* and *Airán* are uniformly employed, with a special and direct reference to Media, and the Medes—a remarkable point of evidence, that requires only to be further strengthened by the observation that the Medes, of all later history, are the inhabitants of Media Atropatene; and that the *Arii*, of the Armenians, should, therefore, in all probability, be confined exclusively to the people of this province. I now descend into a later age; and I am able to prove that this very title of *Arrán*, which I have traced down from the Charran of Tobit, and the *Airyana* of the Zend A'vestá, actually applied to the district or town of Takhti-Soleimán, within the last 700 or 800 years. The distortion which Persian names undergo, in being reduced to the pronunciation and orthography of the Arabs, is well known. An initial, *a*, followed by a double letter, is, in particular, perpetually confounded with the definite article, *Al*, coalescing with the first letter of the proper name to which it is prefixed. Thus, the Persian name of *Arrás*, applying to the river Araxes, is always written by the Arabs *Al-rás* which has, indeed, the same pronunciation; but which, according to the rules of the Arabic language, should give to the river the proper name of *Rás*. In the name of *Arrán*, also, whether applying to the province N. of the Araxes, or to the town and district of Takhti-Soleimán, the same confusion is observable. Thus, the name is written indifferently *Arrán*, or, with the article *Al-Rán*; (pronounced *Arrán*) and some authors, deceived by the formation of the latter word, have supposed the real title to be *Rán*. This will be more apparent by the following extracts:—

Mes'údí, as I have already shown in two passages of his work, associates the names of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, and that, too, in cases where he can only allude to a single city; thus proving, that if I have succeeded in identifying *Shíz*, I have also verified the position of *Ar-Rán* at the same place. But *Yáḳút* is even more satisfactory, clearly showing this identity; and, at the same time, explaining the loss of the initial guttural, which I have alluded to in the Charran of Tobit. In the *Morásido-l Ittilá'*, under the head of *Arrán*, we first find a description of the province of that name, N. of the Araxes; and it is then stated that *Arrán* is sometimes used to denote the famous city of *Harrán*,†

* Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 274.

† This is the great Sabæan city named Charran in Genesis, and Charræ by the Greeks, the seat of the scene of the defeat of Crassus.

in Diyár Moḏhár.* Under the same head, in the Moshterek, we find "Arrán is a celebrated province, adjoining Azerbájján, containing the cities of Beilekán and Ganjeh; secondly, it is the title of a castle in the territory of Kazvín; and thirdly, it is a title of the famous city of Harrán."

I now turn to Ar Rán, the orthography employed by Més'údí, and I find in the Morásid, "Ar Rán is a town between Marághah and Zenján, possessing mines of gold and lead;" and in the Moshterek, "Ar Rán is a town and district adjoining the province of Azerbájján; and, I consider this place to be altogether distinct from the province of Arrán. 'Omar Ibn Moḥammed El Hanafí, in his panegyric upon Moḥammed Ibn 'Abdo-l Wahíd el Yemámí,† says, that he conquered Azerbájján and Armíníeh; and reigned at Ar Rán, until he caused the inhabitants to sleep in quiet; and freed the place from all wicked men." I have not the volumes of the Mo'jemo-l Beldán, which contain these names of Arrán and Ar Rán, but, under the head of Harrán I find it there stated that "the first founder of this famous city is supposed to have been Rán, the brother of the Patriarch Abraham; and he is said, in memory thereof, to have imposed his name on it, which was Arabicised into the present formation of Harrán." I may also quote a single line from the Ferhengi-Jehángirí, which mentions Arrán as "the name of a particular district (belúk) of Azerbájján;" evidently not in allusion to the provinces of that name; and concludes the subject by stating that Abú-l Fedá and Mes'údí employ both the orthographies of Arrán and Ar Rán, in reference to the province; and that the ancient Georgian title applied to the same country, was Rání.‡

From these sources of evidence, I think, then, I am able to show, 1st, That the analogous instance of Harrán and Arrán warrants my asserting the identity of the Charrán, of Tobit, with the Persian Arrán; 2ndly, That the Ar Rán, of the Arabian authors is merely an arbitrary orthography employed to express a name, whose true Persian pronunciation was Arrán, in one word; and, 3rdly, That this name of Ar Rán, associated with Shíz, by Mes'údí, in evident reference to a single town, is assigned by Yákút to the same relative position between Marághah and Zenján; and further characterised by the same peculiar circumstance of possessing mines of gold and lead, must necessarily be another title for the same place. The only pretence at distinc-

* Diyár Rabī'eh, Diyár Bekr, and Diyár Moḏhár, are the three divisions of Northern Mesopotamia in Arabic Geography.

† I suspect this Moḥammed to have been a general under the Ommiade Khaliph 'Abdo-l Melik Ibn Merwán, towards the close of the first century of Islám, but I cannot speak with confidence.

‡ Saint Martin, tom. i., p. 271.

tion that Yákút attempts, is in assigning the name of Arrán to the town, and Shíz to the district ; but, if a distinction is to be kept up, I think this should rather be reversed, and that we should assign the title of Arrán to the surrounding country ; the Airyana, the pure, of the Vendidad, and Shíz, to the town of Canzaca ; or, perhaps, to the particular embattled mound that formed its most remarkable feature.

I shall attempt little more of argument, for, I confess, I think now that the identification of Ecbatana is established.

Returning to the period of the Median dynasty, we find that Dejoces, after a reign of 53 years, was succeeded by his son Phraortes. This monarch is identified by some chronologers with the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith, as well from a supposed resemblance of name, as from the circumstance of his defeat and death, by the Assyrian king of Niniveh, mentioned in that Book, coinciding with the record of the same event, preserved by Herodotus. The name, however, if it is corrupted from Aphrazad, or Phraazad, should rather apply to Dejoces, the son of Phraortes,* and the building of Ecbatana, would seem to denote the same monarch. I cannot admit, indeed, any direct identity between the names of Arphaxad and Phraortes ; the one is evidently a compound, and the other appears in the tablets of Bísitún, rendered letter for letter with the same orthography as that employed by Herodotus : the Fráurtish of the inscription is the fourth captive figure that appears bound and suppliant before Darius, in his character of Archimagus. He is described as the king of Media, of the race of Húkhsheter (a Zend compound, which the Greeks seem to have hellenised into Oxathres) ; but, as the part of the inscription which particularly describes his character and fate is illegible, I cannot determine whether this Phraortes is the second Median king, whose subjugation of the Persians may have led Darius, when the empire had passed into the hands of a family of that nation, to exhibit him, under the appearance of a captive, for the mere gratification of the national vanity ; or whether, as I confess, it appears to me far more probable, the passage of Herodotus, which mentions a revolt of the Medes under Darius, and which, in its supposed application to the times of Darius Nothus, has been a source of some perplexity to the critics,† should not really be understood as alluding to an insurrection of that nation, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, which was speedily crushed, and the leader of which would not unnaturally be represented amongst the other vanquished warriors who yielded to the Persian arms. But to return to the

* According to Herodotus both the father and son of Dejoces were named Phraortes. Syncellus gives the orthography of *Ῥαράερης*.

† See Larcher's Herodotus, tom. i., p. 382.

Arphaxad of Judith, and the description of Ecbatana, which is certainly very striking. "Arphaxad," it is said, "the king of the Medes, reduced many nations under his power, and he built that great city which he named Ecbatana. It was built of stones squared and hewn; and he made the walls 70 cubits in breadth and 30 cubits in height, and he erected towers of the height of 100 cubits; and the towers were square, and measured upon each face a space of 200 feet, and he built gates of the same height as the towers."*

As the Arphaxad, of Judith, is necessarily either the first or second king of the northern Median dynasty, this description must refer to Takhti-Soleimán rather than to Hamadán. The common tendency of eastern hyperbole has, probably, somewhat exaggerated the dimensions of the fortress; yet the coincidence with Herodotus and the Zend A'vestá is certainly striking; and the authority, if not synchronous with the events described, is, at any rate, entitled to the confidence of a Chaldee legend of great antiquity. The Assyrian king is afterwards said to have defeated Arphaxad; but the Vulgate mentions nothing of the subsequent capture and destruction of Ecbatana, as we read in the English version; and, whether we suppose the Median king to have been Dejoces or Phraortes, the evidence of Herodotus would seem decisive against such an event ever having occurred.

Phraortes, after the disastrous result of his Assyrian campaign, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. This title has been recognised as a compound of the Persian Keï, a royal epithet applied to the early Persian kings; and the proper name, Axares, which name, I must observe, in all its modifications, of Ahasuerus, Assuerus, and Xerxes, is positively identical in its elements, with the cuneiform, Khshyarsha, or, which is the same thing (with the prefix of the definite article), Ah Khshyarsha. I cannot doubt that this king sate upon the throne of his sire and grandsire, at the Atropatenian Ecbatana. He marched from that place against Niniveh, to avenge his father's death, but was recalled by an invasion of the Scythians; in describing which, Herodotus again clearly shows, that by the name of Media he implies Atropatene.

"From the Palus Mæotis," he says, "to the Phasis and Colchis, it is reckoned thirty days of good travelling. To pass from Colchis into Media, one has to traverse a range of mountains; but the passage is very short, for the Sapires are the only nation that intervene between these countries. The Scythians, however, did not enter Media upon this side; they passed higher up and by a longer route, leaving Mount Caucasus on their right;†

* Chap. I., b. 1, 2, and 3. I follow the Vulgate in preference to the English translation, which gives even more exaggerated measurements.

† Lib. i. c. 104.

that is, they traversed the pass of Derbend, and from thence burst into Media.

The Medes, under Cyaxares, as it is well known, were defeated, and for 28 years submitted to a foreign yoke. It is probable that the Scythians, in their usual spirit of encroachment, sought to extend their conquests over the contiguous kingdoms; for Ctesias notices, under the reign of Astybaras, the contemporary monarch of greater Media, a war with the Sacæ, which continued for many years, and occasioned great slaughter, but was finally accommodated without any decisive results upon either side. The Atropatenian Medes, after an interval of 28 years, recovered their liberty; and Cyaxares then led them a second time against the Assyrian Niniveh, which was finally overthrown and destroyed by him in B.C. 595. On his return from this great conquest by the direct route across the mountains, I conceive that he, most probably, erected the pillars of Sîdek and Keli-Shîn, to commemorate his crowning victory; and he no doubt closed his days in his paternal capital of Ecbatana. Tobias, at about the same time, is stated to have died in extreme old age, at Ecbatana, of Media,* having migrated with his family from Niniveh during the reign of Dejoces, when "for a time there was peace in Media;"† and I cannot question but that this is the same Ecbatana or Charran which he had visited upon his journey to Rhages.

It seems most probable that Cyaxares in the overthrow of the great kingdom of Niniveh, also brought under his sway the countries of Media Magna, governed by the Arbacidæ, who were either identified, or at any rate very closely connected with the Assyrian dynasty; and that he thus, in his own person, first united the sovereignty of the two Medias. His son Astyages, in all probability, continued to hold his court in his hereditary capital and thus I refer to the Atropatenian Ecbatana; all the incidents of the birth and education of Cyrus the Great, as far as they may be historically received, in the writings of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Justin. With regard to the Oriental accounts of this period of history, if any great national revolution could be expected to survive in the popular traditions, it certainly would be the delivery of Persia from the condition of a subjugated province, and the consolidation of Asiatic empire, in the person of Cyrus the Great. I accordingly recognise, in the fabulous stories of Zohâk and Ferîdûn, the translation of the kingdom from the Medes to the Persians; the traits of similarity, indeed, between the historical account of the Median family of Dejoces, and the Persian stories of D̥hohâk, Arabicised into Zohâk, are too striking to be overlooked. The two names, in the first place, are

* Tobit, c. xiv. b. 14.

† Tobit, c. xiv. b. 3.

nearly identified. Zohák was likewise called Azdehák, or the Dragon, the same name with the Greek Astyages; and the Dragon race of Armenia, whom history represented as the descendants of Astyages, were believed in popular tradition to derive their origin from the Dragons that issued from the shoulders of Zohák.* Again, the length of the reign of Zohák, extending to 1000 years, evidently implies a dynasty; and all tradition is unanimous in describing it as a foreign dominion (that is, foreign to Persia proper), which was at length set aside by a native family. Altogether it appears to me that the Persians must have adopted from Astyages the last of the dynasty, the name of Azdehák, which they employed to denote the family; that, in reference to the descent of Astyages from Dejoces, they likewise made use, in the same way, of the title Dhohák; that they also included, under the reign of this Dhohák, the three generations of Astyages, Cyaxares, and Phraortes; but that as Phraortes was the first who brought the Persians under subjection to the Median yoke, although, employing the name, they did not, in the person of Dhohák, refer to the character of his father Dejoces; but rather assigned to that monarch as the founder of a great civil, and, perhaps, also religious polity, the career of wisdom, glory, and kingly power, which belongs to the fabulous Jemshíd; and it is further very curious to observe, that there was some extraordinary confusion on this head among the ancient Persians, when they first began to communicate their history to the Arabs; for Mes'údí says, that in some of their legends Jemshíd was made identical with Zohák.

This view presents, however, a thousand difficulties, the usual results of collating history with fable: my object in detailing it is merely to show that the Persians, in supposing Ferídún to have established the seat of empire in his native province of Azerbiján seem to have had an indistinct idea of the royal and metropolitan character of the Atropatenian Ecbatana in the time of Cyrus, after the recovery of Persian independence. The Vendídád even ascribes the birth of Ferídún to the city of 'Verene, the squared,' (or probably built with squared stones,†) which certainly recalls to mind the Var of Jemshíd, at the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and I believe I trace another form of this word, referring to the same epoch of history, in the Barene of Ctesias.‡ Herodotus says that, after the Lydian campaign, Cyrus brought the captive Cræsus and his treasures to Ecbatana, and when Ctesias, therefore, writes that Cyrus bestowed upon Cræsus the city of Barene, near Ecbatana, I only understand him to have assigned his pri-

* See Moses, Choron, lib. i. c. 21, 29, 30, and 31, and lib. ii. c. 24, 46, and 58.

† Zend Avesta, tom. i, part I. p. 269.

‡ In Excerpt. Ctes. apud. Phot., also Stephen in voce Βαζύην.

soner an honourable residence in the Var, or Baris, of the Atropatenian capital. But it may well be asked, if the Ferídún of Persian tradition is Cyrus, who is Kei Khosraú? and how are all the intermediate reigns to be disposed of? I can only suppose that, as there are stronger traits of identity between Kei Khosraú and Cyrus, than in any other instance where Greek and oriental history can be compared, except perhaps between Zohák and the Median dynasty; the Persian fabulists, in the story of Ferídún, must have merely embodied the remembrance of their delivery from a foreign yoke, whilst, in the romance of Kei Khosraú and his immediate predecessors, they sought to obtain from the proper and provincial lineage of Cyrus, perfectly distinct from the succession of Median or Assyrian royalty, a long and connected line of regal ancestry, for the mere purpose of ennobling the birth of their great national warrior. Kei Káuś, the grandfather of Kei Khosraú, is, at any rate, identical with the Cambyases of Herodotus, who was the real father of Cyrus, for the name is written Kábús in the cuneiform inscriptions,* the same with the Georgian Kapos, the Zend Kavaus, and the Persian Kábús, which was long a favourite title among the Dilemite sovereigns;† and, if we could only further trace up the real genealogy of Cyrus between Cambyases and Achæmenes, we should perhaps discover other marks of identity with the preceding generations of Persian story. I have already observed the many characteristic traits in the early legends of Persia that connect Kei Khosraú with the city, the fortress, and the temple of Shíz, and these all incline me to the belief that the Ecbatana, which is mentioned in Grecian history in reference to Cyrus, is the capital of Media Atropatene, and not of Media Magna.

But after this period it becomes most difficult to discriminate between the two cities. To which of the two Ecbatanas is to be referred the remarkable passage in Ezra is, I think, very doubtful. The Jews, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, prayed that search might be made in the royal treasure-house of the kings of Babylon for the decree which Cyrus had deposited there relative to the rebuilding of the temple. The words which are employed in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, to denote this treasure-house, Genziá, Gezá, and Gaza,‡ all recall to mind the Gaza of Atropatene; but the succeeding verse, "and there was found at Achmetha, in the palace, that is, in the province of the Medes,"§ where the Hebrew Ahmethá is rendered in Syriac by Ahmethan,

* The Kábús of the inscriptions is the son of Cyrus, thus showing the true oriental form of the Greek *Καμβύσης*.

† The name of Kei Káuś is frequently written in old Persian Kávús, and Ibn Jauzí, in the Merato-z Zemán, expressly says that the Arabic form, Kábús, is corrupted from this; he thus writes the name of Kei Káuś, either Kávús, or Kábús.

‡ Ezra, c. v. i. 17, and c. vi. v. 1.

§ C. vi. v. 2.

would seem to point out, in the resemblance to the modern pronunciation of Hamadán, the capital of Media Magna. The Septuagint, however, regarded Achmetha, in which they could hardly avoid recognising the familiar title of Ecbatana as a generic name for a city, and, accordingly, rendered it, by πόλις;* and it is also worthy of remark, that Josephus and all the Christian Greeks, although retaining the proper name of Ecbatana, yet agree with the Greek Scriptures in employing the word βάρης† to express the Hebrew Bîrthá (the palace), which is used as the distinctive epithet of the city; and I confess that, as every thing seems to prove the attachment of Cyrus to the city of his nativity, rather than to the stranger capital of the greater Media, I should be inclined to suppose that he had there deposited in the famous βάρης, or Var, his Jewish decree, along with the other records and treasures of the empire.

It follows, also, in regard to Herodotus, that if his Ecbatana of Dejoces is to be identified with Takhti-Soleimán, the city which he describes under the same name as the capital of all Media, in his distribution of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, will necessarily be represented by the same place;‡ and this, I confess, presents some difficulty, for we cannot but suppose the other Ecbatana to have been fully equal, if not indeed as the more ancient city, superior to the Atropatenian capital. However, Herodotus never visited Media; and as it is clear that, in the accounts of the province which he received at Babylon, he altogether failed to distinguish between the two capitals, the confusion of his evidence in this instance is, perhaps, nothing more than might be expected. That the Southern Ecbatana, however, was in reality the Median capital of Darius Hystaspes may be inferred from the tablets of the Ganj Náneh, where that monarch has commemorated his name and titles; and, indeed, subsequently to this æra, in a few instances only, can we discern with any clearness that, under the name of Ecbatana, an allusion is intended to the Atropatenian city. The Median Agdabata of Æschylus § may be either the one or the other; but it is curious that the epithet of Ἀχέσσαϊα, which the scholiast to this passage asserts to have been anciently applied to the city, should in its evident derivation from the Zend, Ah Khshaihya, the king, resemble so closely the title of Shahasdan, or royal, which we know to have been the distinctive epithet of the Sasanian Kandzag. The statement, also, which appears in a host of authors, of Ecbatana having

* Some of the MSS., however, say ἐν Ἀμασά ἐν πόλει. See Polyglott Bible, vol. i, p. 833.

† The MSS. of the Septuagint that use the expression, ἐν πόλει ἐν τῇ βάρει, certainly appear to employ βάρης as the proper name of the city.

‡ Lib. iii. cap. 92.

§ Persæ, vers. 927.

formed the summer residence of the Persian kings,* is alike deficient in any evidence of distinction, for if Hamadán enjoys an agreeable summer climate, and still traditionally retains the character of having been honoured by the annual visits of the ancient sovereigns,† so Takhti-Soleimán also, in all times, ancient and modern, has been proverbially celebrated in the East for its delicious coolness during the summer months; and Strabo's statement of the Median kings having resided in their summer palace of Gaza, is verified at the present day by the summer encampment of the Prince Governor of Khamseh, which is often pitched during the hot months in the delightful pastures around the ruins of the Takht. Perhaps the only marked geographical application to the Atropatenian Ecbatana which occurs between the æra of Darius and the Macedonian invasion, is that contained in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, where, however, it is impossible to say whether Xenophon himself recognised the distinction, or whether he merely repeated the popular story of the country, without understanding its real allusion. When he was at the foot of the Carduchian mountains he heard, he says, of a route conducting eastward across the range to Ecbatana and Susa,‡ which route, I think, must necessarily refer to the famous line by Rowándiz and Sídek, leading to the capital of Atropatene, and from thence by Kurdistán and Mesobatene to Susa; for the route from the same point to Hamadán would have conducted nearly due S. for nearly 200 miles before it crossed the mountains, and this is evidently the road which was described to him as leading in a southerly direction into Media.

I now come to the Macedonian invasion of the East, a period which it might be expected would clear up all the difficulties relative to the Ecbatana of Northern Media, but which, on the contrary, will really be found to aggravate those difficulties in no trifling degree, and which, in fact, may be considered as the great cause of all the perplexity that involves the subject at the present day. If we only attended to the writers previous to this æra, we might, without much hesitation, say that the two cities were distinguished, the Arbacidan Acbatana of Ctesias being evidently a different city from that described under the same name by Herodotus, and that the native Greeks, who perused the two histories in their closets at Athens, confounded the names, and merely recognised one great Median capital of Ecbatana, we might regard, perhaps, as the natural consequence of an identity

* For the summer residence of the ancient kings at Ecbatana, see Brisson, de Reg. Pers. Princip., p. 5,859,860, where he has enumerated all the authorities.

† This is mentioned by Zekáriyá in the Atháro-l Beldán, under the head of Hamadán.

‡ Xen. Cyrop., lib. iii.

of title. But that Alexander, who sought with so much care and assiduity for geographical information relative to all the countries which he traversed, should have resided in one Ecbatana, without penetrating the mystery of the double name, is a circumstance most difficult to account for ; but which, notwithstanding, I conceive to be no less certain than that this very ignorance served to perpetuate the confusion in all subsequent geography. It can only be explained by the reflection that neither did Alexander himself ever enter the province of *Azerbáján*, nor were a party of his troops even admitted, at any time, within the frontiers of the forbidden country ; or if, indeed, as I almost suspect, the gold mines of *Hysperatis*, which Menon was sent to examine, may be recognised in the metallic riches of the mountainous country on the *Asped-rúd*,* or *Kizil Uzen*, still, even in this case, as the detachment was utterly destroyed by the wild mountaineers, no intelligence whatever could have been derived from the exploratory attempt.† *Atropates*, or *Atrapes*, who was the governor of *Media Atropatene* under the last *Darius*, and who, it is to be remarked, by the historians of Alexander's campaigns, is invariably named the *Satrap of Media*, the *Governor of Media*, or the leader of the *Medes*, observed, with the *Macedonians*, a line of careful and sagacious policy that preserved the independence of his country almost alone amid the ruins of prostrate Asia, and enabled him to transmit the crown to a long line of illustrious descendants. The general of the *Medes* and *Cadusians*, at the battle of *Arbela*,‡ retired to his native fastnesses after that disastrous combat, and for a time appears to have been still prepared to support the falling fortunes of *Darius* ;§ but when the Persian monarchy became extinct, and Alexander returned victorious from his Indian campaign, *Atropates* was among the first to propitiate the conqueror by the tender of his nominal allegiance, and thus to secure to himself the unmolested government of his native province.|| He even strengthened himself by a family alliance with *Perdiccas*,¶ and is further said to have displayed before the *Macedonian* king a strange exhibition of female warriors on his last visit to the greater *Media* ;** but we have distinct evidence, at the same time, that, in his distant and guarded connexion with

* Strabo, p. 529.

† Saint Martin supposes the *Hysperatis* of Strabo to refer to the district of *Ispcr*, N.E. of *Er. Rúm* (tom. i. p. 69), but in another passage Strabo appears to denote the same place under the name of *Sysperatis* (the sibilant and aspirate being commutable in ancient Persian), and this he places to the S. beyond the limits of *Armenia*, and bordering on *Adiabene* (p. 503), which will not at all suit the northern position of *Ispcr* ; neither did the troops of Alexander at any time approach the vicinity of *Erz Rúm*.

‡ Arrian, lib. iii. c. 8.

§ Ibid., c. 19.

|| Ibid., lib. xvi. c. 29.

¶ Ibid., lib. vii. c. 4.

** Ibid., c. 13.

the Greeks, Atropates never, in any degree, compromised his real independence, or permitted any foreign interference whatever in the administration of Atropatene. To this exclusive and forbidding policy, then, on the part of the native chief, can be alone attributed the ignorance of the Greeks. That they did positively hear the name of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, I think I can clearly show; but it would seem that the caution of Atropates had thrown so much obscurity over everything connected with his country, that they were unable to distinguish his capital from the Median city of the same name which they captured and occupied, and of which they transmitted their accounts to posterity.

Thus I cannot doubt that, when Arrian states Darius to have fled, after the battle of Arbela, through the mountainous tract of Armenia into Media, along a road which was by no means commodious for the march of a large army,* he must necessarily refer to the line by Rowándiz and Sídek, to which I have so often alluded; and Diodorus, therefore, in writing that the fugitive monarch, having crossed the mountains, first came to Ecbatana, where he endeavoured to rally his scattered forces,† must, in the same view, obviously denote the capital of Media Atropatene. But Darius, after sending out Atropates to raise his warlike and perhaps tributary neighbours the Cadusians and Sacæ, must have moved himself to the more central and commodious position of the capital of greater Media; and when the Greeks thus found their enemy in occupation of Hamadán, on their advance from Persepolis, it is not surprising that they at once identified this Ecbatana with the city of the same name, which they heard of as his first place of refuge after crossing the mountains into Media.

Perhaps, if we had the original memoirs of Alexander's captains, we should be able to unravel even more successfully the labyrinth of Grecian ignorance: with our present mutilated means, the illustration must be chiefly conjectural; and I confess that, in this part of the inquiry, I shall be more than satisfied, if I can give a reasonable solution of errors, which I regard as the only real difficulty affecting the sustained connexion of my argument.

On the dismemberment of the Persian empire, after the death of Alexander, Atropates, or, as he is often called, Atrapes, retained, of course, the government of Atropatene, which, I see little reason to doubt, then first received that title as its proper and provincial appellation.‡ It is also, perhaps, worthy of remark, that, in the distribution of the provinces of Alexander's

* Lib. iii. c. 16.

† Book xvii. c. 7.

‡ See Diod. Sic., lib. xviii. p. 587; Strabo, p. 523; Polyb., lib. v. c. 55; and Ptol., lib. vi. c. 2.

empire, both Justin and Orosius* name the government of Atrapes Media the Greater, as if it had at this time really eclipsed in strength and power the more extensive regions of Southern Media, which we know to have long continued under the administration of Pithon.

The line of Atropates continued undisturbed in their possessions for above a hundred years, and, no doubt, held their court in the provincial capital of Ecbatana. At length, however, Antiochus the Great prepared, for the first time, to bring the kingdom of Atropatene under subjection to the Syro Macedonian empire; and the account which Polybius gives of this expedition,† compared with his notice of the subsequent war between the same monarch and Arsaces of Parthia, clearly betrays his inability, even in the advanced stage which geographical knowledge had attained in his day in the Alexandrian school of Eratosthenes, to distinguish between the Ecbatana, which was the capital of Atropatene, and the other and more ancient Ecbatana of the greater or southern Media. In describing the country of Atropatene, which was invaded by Antiochus the Great, he says, that it was separated from Media by a single range of mountains, and extended northerly to those parts of Pontus which were above the river Phasis,‡ and also approached very near to the Hyrcanian Sea, thus clearly defining the province of Azerbîjân divided by the Senna mountains from the Southern Media § and including within its northern frontier all the country below the Kur and Phasis. And, again, in following the march of Antiochus against Parthia,|| he places Ecbatana beyond any question in this province, by describing it as situated in the northern part of Media, and commanding all that part of Asia which lay along the Mæotis and the Euxine Sea, whilst, at the same time, in continuing his description of the city, all the other indications of its being built on the declivity of Mount Orontes, or Elwend, of its having been from the most ancient times the seat of the royal residence, and of its possessing the palace, the treasury citadel, and the temple of Anaia, or Anaitis, which are noticed by so many other authors, as belonging to the Ecbatana of the greater Media, point out a most obvious reference to the site now occupied by the modern town of Hamadân.

It has been sometimes said, that this northern emplacement of

* Justin., lib. xiii. ; Oros., lib. iii. c. 23.

† Lib. v. c. 55.

‡ Polybius repeats this indication of the extent of Media Atropatene to the north in two other passages.

§ With regard to the southern frontiers of Azerbîjân, I must observe that the early Arab geographers uniformly extend them to the line of Holwân, Dinêwer, and Hamadân; and that no objection, therefore, can be taken to the position of Takhti-Soleimân, midway between this line and the Araxes, in reference to its representing the capital of the province.

|| Lib. x. cap. 29.

Polybius will not admit of explanation, even on the supposition of Ecbatana being represented by Tabriz;* but I cannot allow any weight to this objection, for if the kingdom of Dejoces and Atropates extended northward to the Caucasus, as there is every reason to believe, then the capital of that kingdom, whatever may have been its exact position, would, in a political point of view, be said to command the countries that lay along the Mæotis and the Euxine Sea.

It appears to me beyond a question, that Polybius, in his famous notice on Ecbatana, has confounded distinct notices of two different cities, that is, that he identified the Ecbatana which he heard of as the capital of the Atropatian province invaded by Antiochus, and to which he assigned accordingly its correct geographical position, with the city of the same name which was familiar to him from the writings of the historians of Alexander and his successors, and which was really taken and plundered by Antiochus the Great on his march from Seleucia to Hecatompylos. Had Artabazanes, the king of Atropatia, resisted the invasion of Antiochus, and stood a siege in his impregnable fortress, the problem of the double Ecbatana could have hardly failed of being at length cleared up; but this was not the case; the old monarch yielded at once to the terms offered by Antiochus—the Grecian army, required for other purposes, was at once withdrawn from the province—and a deeper obscurity than ever settled down again upon the name of its mysterious capital.

Little more can be gleaned from history of Atropatene, or its capital Ecbatana. The Atropatenian kings would seem to have remained tributary to Antiochus the Great during the prosperous state of his eastern empire; for his ambassadors, in their endeavours to deter the Achæans from joining the Roman confederacy, included the Medes and Cadusians among the wild and terrible nations of the East, with which they asserted the Syrian monarch was preparing to burst upon Europe.† After the death of Antiochus, in B.C. 175, the Parthian monarchs rapidly extended their conquests over all Western Asia; and Media, doubtless, with its sister kingdoms of Hyrcania and Elymais, while they continued virtually independent, still found themselves obliged to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of the king of kings. In the famous Mithridatic war, the king of Media took no active part; but when Lucullus, in prosecution of that war, led the Roman legions against Tigranes, Darius, the king of Atropatene, who had been rendered tributary to that monarch, brought a powerful contingent to the support of the Armenians, and commanded the right wing of the Armenian army in the great battle that ensued.‡ Shortly

* Williams's *Anc. Asia*, p. 60.

† Livy, book xxxv. c. 48.

‡ Plutarch in *vitâ Luculli*, and *Dion Cassius*.

afterwards, Pompey succeeded Lucullus in the command, and, after completing the reduction of Armenia and the dependent provinces, there are some circumstances which seem to render it more than probable that he entered Atropatene, and perhaps even visited its capital, Ecbatana. Plutarch, indeed, states, that from the plains of Múghán, where Pompey noted the surprising number of snakes, for which the plain is notorious at the present day, he returned to Armenia the less, and there received the friendly embassies of the kings of Media and Elymais;* but all authors are agreed that he exhibited Media among the other conquered nations of the East at his triumph on returning to Rome, which would hardly have been the case had he never penetrated farther into the province than the plains of Múghán. Velleius Paterculus also states, that he entered victoriously into Media.† Dion Cassius, again, describes him as taking up his winter quarters at Aspid after the Albanian war.‡ from whence he detached Afranius§ into Assyria, to drive back the Parthians from Arbela, and where he concluded his negotiations with Phraates, the Parthian king, before retiring to the lesser Armenia. And Orosius distinctly writes, that, after the reduction of Armenia and the neighbouring countries, Pompey entered Parthia, and advanced to Ecbatana, the capital city of the Parthian kingdom.|| If we might suppose that, by Aspis, or Aspid, Dion Cassius refers to the Asped-rúd, the campaign would be rationally explained. From the plains of Múghán, Pompey, declining prudently enough to lead his army into the dense forests of Tálísh,¶ would have moved by the route of Ardebíl to Miyáneh, near the Asped-rúd, or Kizil Uzen; and here, or in the vicinity, while he was negotiating with Phraates, he may possibly have received the homage of the Atropatenian king, or, indeed, he may even from hence have visited that monarch at his capital of Ecbatana. But the evidence is too scanty to afford any certain grounds of illustration. All that I propose to show from it is, that if Pompey, in his expedition into Atropatene, visited, or had any connexion with a city of the name of Ecbatana, it must have necessarily been this capital of Northern Media, rather than the Parthian metropolis, which Orosius, misled by the identity of name, supposed it to represent. I have only farther to remark, that the son of this monarch, Darius, contemporary with Pompey, was the Artavasdes, or Artabazus, whom we find, at

* See Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*.

† Lib. ii. c. 40.

‡ Lib. xxxvii. c. 7.

§ Afranius is said to have met with great difficulties upon his march, and I conclude therefore that he travelled by the Rowándiz road.

|| Lib. vi. c. 4.

¶ This is certainly a more rational explanation of Pompey's abandonment of his advance on Hyrcania, than the reason assigned by Plutarch, of his being obliged to return on account of the multitude of snakes.

the period of Antony's invasion, seated on the throne of Northern Media, and holding his court in the capital of Praaspa; and I believe that I have thus fulfilled my promise of establishing an historical connexion between this city of Praaspa, or Gaza, identified at the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and the ancient capital of the province founded by Dejoces the Mede.

There are still, however, a few points of evidence to be drawn from the geographers which are worthy of being noticed, as they serve to show that, in compiling from the works of others, they stumbled occasionally upon the name of the Atropatenian capital, and employed the evidence relating to it, whilst they probably remained in ignorance of its true application.

Eratosthenes, the keeper of the Alexandrian library under Ptolemy Euergetes, was the first, it is well known, to introduce a systematic arrangement, on principles of approximate correctness, into the geographical science of the ancients. The foundation of his system was the protraction of an imaginary parallel between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude, from the pillars of Hercules, at the western extremity of the line, to the further limit of Asia upon the east; and upon this parallel, which was called the Diaphragm of Rhodes, he proposed to mark off the longitudinal measurements of the known world. It does not enter into the object of the present inquiry to analyse the means which he employed for the valuation of these measurements in stadia. It is sufficient to observe, that his protraction of the line of the diaphragm was verified at many points by the observation of the solstitial shadows, and that a degree of moderate correctness is thus perceptible in the general preservation of an approximate equality of latitude. The pillars of Hercules, the southern coasts of Sicily, Peloponnesus, and Attica, Rhodes, the Gulf of Issus, Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, and the passage of the Tigris, at Niniveh, will none of them be found to vary many minutes from the assumed parallel of $36^{\circ} 21'$. "Beyond this point," says Eratosthenes, "the line was drawn in succession through Gaugamela, the river Lycus, Arbela, and Ecbatana, along which road Darius fled from Gaugamela, and so on to the Caspian gates, the entire distance from Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, being 10,300 stadia." *

Now, independently of the allusion to the flight of Darius, which I have already endeavoured to show must have been by the Rowándiz road to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, a reference to the map will at once show us the necessary application of the Ecbatana of Eratosthenes to this emplacement, rather than to the southern position of Hamadán. Hamadán is $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the S. of the

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 79.

diaphragm, and above 1° S. of a right line, drawn from Niniveh, to the Caspian gates, while the latitude of Takhti-Soleimán is within a very few minutes of the assumed parallel; and the place, moreover, is upon the direct line connecting the two points. Eratosthenes, doubtless, computed the valuation of his longitudinal distances from the itineraries of travellers, and the recorded marches of armies; but, in determining the line of his great diaphragm, everything tends to prove an attempt at scientific accuracy; and although, therefore, one great line of communication did in reality lead from Niniveh, by Hamadán, to the Caspian gates, yet that, in illustrating a great geodesic measurement, he should have referred to this circuitous track in preference to another route, which was also travelled nearly in a direct line between the two points that he wished to connect, appears to me altogether contrary to reason. Perhaps, if we could test the relative applicability of his measurement of 10,300 stadia between Thapsacus and the Caspian gates, to the two routes conducting to that point by Hamadán and Takhti-Soleimán, the indication to the latter site would be more marked and decisive; but I confess, that neither can I assure myself of a correct standard for the evaluation of his stadium, nor can I, upon so long a line, ascertain the road distance with sufficient accuracy to obtain grounds of any value for a comparative estimate. Another author, whom I propose to examine, is Strabo. It has been conjectured that this writer was ignorant of the true position of the Median capital, from his omitting that definite information with regard to relative distance from other places with which he usually illustrates his geographical notices;* but the existence of two Ecbatanas will perhaps more reasonably suggest that, as he assumed a reference to one place in all the various allusions to a city of that name, which he met with in the many authors that he consulted, his caution preferred a total silence on the subject of geographical position to the perplexity of statements directly contradictory; and the same clue, also, will resolve the ambiguities that attend his incidental mention of Ecbatana in several passages of his work. Thus, where he directly describes Ecbatana as the capital of Media Magna, he, no doubt, alludes to the site occupied by the modern city of Hamadán;† but, in all his general geographical notices, the position of Takhti-Soleimán will far better suit his indications. “The greatest part of Media,” he says, “is composed of cold and elevated regions. Such are the mountains situated above or to the N. of Ecbatana, and those which adjoin Rhagæ and the Caspian gates. Such, in one word, is all the northern part of Media, extending as far as Matriana and Armenia. That part of

* Williams's *Anc. Asia*, c. 67.

† Page 524.

the province situated below, or to the S. of the Caspian gates, contains low ground and valleys." It possesses an excellent soil, singularly fertile in all sorts of productions but the olive, which either does not exist, or is only found small and dry.*

It is evident that Strabo here alludes to two great geographical divisions of Media, each possessing physical features of a distinct and peculiar character. The northern division, in fact, or Media Atropatene, cold, steril, and mountainous, and the southern, or Media Magna, warm, fertile, and champaign; and the Ecbatana, therefore, which is made use of to illustrate the cold and mountainous regions of the North, must obviously be the capital of Media Atropatene. This description of Strabo, indeed, I regard as a mere amplification of the passage in Herodotus, which I have already quoted, and, as in that passage, the northern emplacement of the city is defined beyond a liability to mistake, by the indication of the Sapires and the Euxine sea: so in this, which is drawn from it, we must necessarily also infer an allusion to the same place, of which, however, it is more than probable, Strabo was himself unconscious. The mountains N. of Ecbatana, I conceive to be Sehend, Sevîlán, and the many branches thrown off from the great Kurdistán range, or in some instances, perhaps, that range itself. It is needless to observe that there are no mountains whatever immediately to the N. of Hamadán. In two other passages I also recognise the same application to the northern Ecbatana, rather than to Hamadán. "Mount Abus," he says, "from which the Euphrates and Araxes flow, the one eastward and the other westward, is near the road that leads to Ecbatana, by the temple of Baris:"† and again in his quotation of the opinion of Polyclitus, regarding the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, we find, "the highest mountains are in the northern parts above Ecbatana; as they stretch towards the S., they diverge, extend themselves, and become much lower.‡ Nothing decisive can, of course, be drawn from either of these notices; but the Ecbatana route near Mount Abus, now called Bîû Gól,§ would seem to allude to the high road by Báyzîd and Tabrîz, which Antony followed to Phraaspa; and the high mountains N. of Ecbatana, in thus repeating the expression of Herodotus, can only be reasonably explained by a reference to the Atropatenian capital.

The last author, whom it is of any importance to notice, is

* Lib. xi. p. 525.

† Lib. xi. pp. 520, 531. This temple of Baris has sorely puzzled the heretics. I almost suspect that the passage *τῆς βαρίδος νῆον*, refers to the famous fire-temple in the Baris of Ecbatana, and that the expression is used to illustrate the site of the capital rather than of the line of road.

‡ Page 742.

§ Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 39, 43; lit. "the thousand lakes."

Ammianus Marcellinus. In describing Adiabene, or Assyria proper, he writes, that, "in this province, is the city Ninus, which formerly possessed the empire of Persia, still bearing the name of Ninus, the husband of Semiramis, formerly a most powerful monarch; and Ecbatana, and Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after the various risks of war, crushed Darius in a successful battle."* Now, as Ammianus, accompanying the retreat of Jovian, actually marched by the confines of this province of Adiabene, his geographical evidence would naturally be expected to be almost of a decisive character; experience, however, has proved, that, except upon the immediate line of the Roman military operations, his indications are of little value. In his general Asiatic geography, the servility with which he has copied from Ptolemy is notorious; and, indeed, in all cases, I think beyond the sphere of his own personal observation, his pretended description of the Persian provinces will be found nothing more than a bare recapitulation of the great names of history. Thus, in the present instance, the defeat and flight of Darius had united and immortalised the names of Gaugamela, Arbela, and Ecbatana; and, as Ammianus must have been aware that the city, where the fugitive Darius had first attempted to rally his broken troops after the battle, could not possibly be represented by the remote position of Isfahán, which he had been erroneously led to identify with the Ecbatana of Media Magna, he seems with a nearer approach to truth than might have been expected, to have imagined an Ecbatana in the Kurdish mountains to suit the historical indication. I cannot of course suppose that he was at all aware of the real emplacement of this Ecbatana, to which Darius fled after the battle of Arbela; his assigning the city to Adiabene, and mentioning the Atropatenian capital under the name of Gazaca, are decisive against this; but still his distinction of the two Ecbatanas is very remarkable, and would seem to show that he felt the perplexity of the ancient notices, and had fortunately hit upon the only way in which they admitted of a rational explanation.

I have now concluded all the historical and geographical evidence which I consider in any way essential to the illustration of the Atropatenian Ecbatana. There are, it is true, many other passages in which it would be desirable to analyse and explain the obscurity of classical authors, which has arisen from a confusion of the two kingdoms of Media, and of their similarly-named capitals of Ecbatana; but as I have already far exceeded the limits which I proposed in drawing up the present memoir, I shall reserve all other points of discussion for a future paper on

* Lib, xxiii. c. 6.

the Ecbatana of Greater Media.* A short précis then of the substance and result of my inquiry is all, I believe, that is further required.

I have shown that Herodotus describes the capital of Media Atropatene under the name of Ecbatana, with certain traits of descriptive character only applicable to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán; that the same place is called in the Book of Tobit Charran;† which title I have succeeded again in tracing down through various fields of evidence to the time of the Arabs, by whom the city occupying the site of Takhti-Soleimán, was still named Arran, identical with Charran, in its latest stages of existence; that the ancient Persian name of Var, also attached to the castle of this city of Dejoces, was preserved in the Greek Vera, the distinctive epithet of the fortress besieged by Mark Antony at Takhti-Soleimán; that Gaza, the more familiar appellation of the Atropatenian capital, is but the translation of its ancient name Ecbatana; that Alexander and his officers, in failing to penetrate to this city, failed also to discover its distinction from the Ecbatana of Greater Media; and, that the confusion of all subsequent geography is to be referred to this source; that later authors preserve notices of Ecbatana, which can only be explained by their application to the Atropatenian capital of that name; the authors themselves, at the same time, appearing in their ignorance to refer them to the other city; that this connected series of ambiguous allusions to the Ecbatana of Northern Media continues from the point where we lose sight of the city, under a distinct and positive form of evidence, up to the period when the capital having changed its name, becomes familiar to the Romans, under the title of Gaza; and here I close the most ancient, and, consequently, the most difficult part of the inquiry.

The next stage of the inquiry takes up the argument at the period of Antony's Median war; it connects all the notices which occur in classic authors of the Atropatenian capital, between this era and the extinction of the Parthian monarchy; it assumes, as a natural inference, strengthened by an accumulation of inductive evidence, all tending to the same point, that this capital must ne-

*The present inquiry is of course incomplete without this supplement; for the great argument in favour of a distinction of two Ecbatanas, is the inapplicability to the northern emplacement of Takhti-Soleimán, of all the historical evidence of Alexander's campaigns. I can only say here, however, that I consider all the notices of Ecbatana which I have not already, reversing the order of the argument, specified, to refer to the position of Hamadán.

† Perhaps it may be thought that, considering the apocryphal character of the book of Tobit and the geographical irreconcilableness of the Greek and Latin versions, I attach an undue weight to the authority; still, however, the Latin version was in existence before the time of St. Jerome, and the evidence therefore, as far as regards the name of Charran and the equi-distance of 11 stages from Rhages and Nimiveh, ascends at least to the third century of Christ.

cessarily occupy the same position as the one which has been hitherto traced under the name of Ecbatana; and, in showing the application to the site of Takhti-Soleimán, of all the recorded measurements and all the illustrative evidence of the period, it, at the same time, verifies the preceding argument, and passes on the great question of the identification of the Ecbatana of Dejoces to the more tangible epoch of the Sasanian dynasty.

In the third stage of the inquiry the great object is to establish a connexion between the Byzantine account of the Atropatenian capital, and the Oriental notices of the same city; and this is effected by showing the events assigned by one party to Canzaca, to be described in the annals of the other, as occurring at the great city of Shíz; and by detailing the evidence common to both parties, of the famous temple that contained the most sacred fire of the Persians being situated in this city of Canzaca or Shíz, which was the capital of the province of Azerbáján. There are, besides, several measurements and other traits of evidence in this period of history, which uniformly accord in their applicability to the site of Takhti-Soleimán, and thus tend most forcibly to strengthen and consolidate all the preceding parts of the argument. The inquiry is then brought to a close by the verification of the position of the Arabian Shíz in modern geography. The detailed account of this place which I have extracted from the work of Zakariyá Kazvíní, compared with my own personal observation of the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, cannot leave the shadow of a doubt as to the identity of the two places; and I believe that, in the connexion and result of these four points of analysis, a difficulty is thus solved, which for want of a little attention and a correct topographical knowledge, has continued to the present day the great problem of Asiatic Comparative Geography; and which, in the obscurity which it has hitherto cast over the map of ancient Persia, has presented one of the chief impediments to the spread of this interesting and instructive science.

Baghdád, 22nd May, 1839.



